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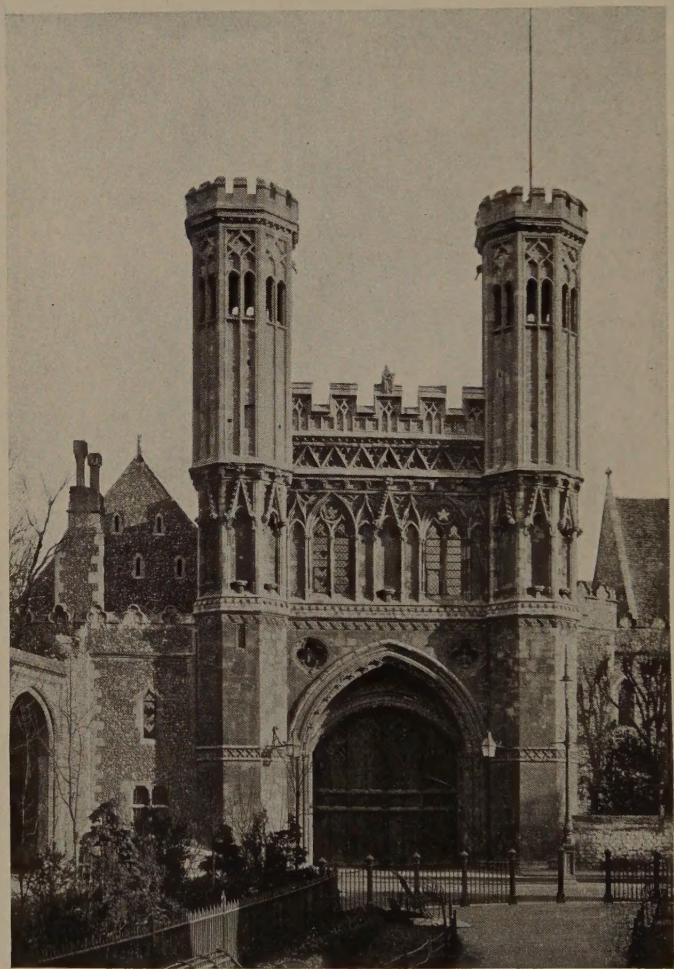
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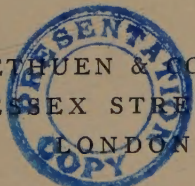
A.D. 1500-1911

BY
MARY E. SHIPLEY

WITH A PREFACE BY
J. P. WHITNEY, B.D.
PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS AND ONE MAP

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IN
REVERENT AND GRATEFUL MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM EDWARD COLLINS, D.D.
BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR
AT REST IN THE LORD
“FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH”

'MID toil and tribulation,
And tumult of her war,
She waits the consummation
Of peace for evermore ;
Till with the vision glorious
Her longing eyes are blest
And the great Church victorious
Shall be the Church at rest.

S. J. STONE.

PREFACE

THE late Bishop of Gibraltar, who had taken a great interest in Miss Shipley's previous volumes, had been anxious for the continuous story of the English Church to be written for children by the same hand. He had with him during his last voyage and at his death the manuscript—not, it is true, of the present volume, but—of a history from which this has been formed by abbreviation and compression. It is, indeed, difficult to tell the story of the Reformation and the many years and the long growth since in one short volume. Miss Shipley's task has, therefore, been an unusually hard one, and much has had to be merely mentioned, or even left out altogether, which well deserved longer treatment. And so much of the history covered by the volume has to do with the constitutional history of the Church, or with deeper points of doctrine, that it is harder to interest children in it than in the earlier story of our Church. It is well, therefore, that the task should have fallen to one experienced in writing for children.

This part of our history shows us how God in the work of His Church does "fulfil Himself in many ways" and by many lives. It is a story of a growth, of an energy rising to new heights in face of responsibilities; it is, therefore, specially needful that the Churchmen and Churchwomen who are to be should know the story well, if they are to do work in the spirit of their fathers.

The connexion of Bishop Collins with this little book and his concern in it gives its appearance a pathetic interest to those of us who know how his love of the past and his work in the present were intertwined. It was with that feeling that he wished the work to be undertaken, and as he was unable to write the preface which he had promised, I, who have to carry on work of another kind which he also loved, have tried to supply the hardly needed introduction. No need is more real and urgent to-day than a knowledge of our own Church History. It tends to fairness, and it deepens devotion.

J. P. WHITNEY

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AN ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY FOR CHILDREN

PART III

A.D. 1500–1911

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

IN the year A.D. 1500 we are coming to that eventful period in Church History known as the Reformation—not at all an easy period to study, so you must be prepared to consider it carefully.

And we must bear in mind that the Reformation begun in the reign of Henry VIII., was not completed till the Savoy Conference at the beginning of the reign of Charles II., about a century and a quarter later.

The word Reformation is sometimes defined as “a making better.”

Now you know, dear children, that our beloved Church was never in its worst days quite unworthy of its high calling. The promise of our Lord, “Lo ! I

am with you alway," was fulfilled by His most Holy Presence in the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, which was life and strength to His faithful servants; and in the Mediaeval Church there were constantly rising up devout souls who kept alive the fire of love and devotion in the midst of waning faith and hope.

Still, many corruptions had crept in. The exaltation of the Blessed Mother of Christ to a height second only to that which was our Lord's alone—this and other errors and practices had arisen which were not according to what we read in Holy Scripture or to the use of the Primitive Church; and it had fallen under the dominion of Rome in a way which threatened to wreck its independence and ruin its spiritual life. It needed cleansing, and all things pointed to this need.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the invention of printing, together with the spread of the New Learning, especially the study of Greek and Hebrew, gave rise to a spirit of inquiry into the truths which all Englishmen had hitherto received without question from the clergy. For, in spite of abuses and superstition, there was also much real religion and a desire to learn the Truth.

Superstition always goes hand in hand with ignorance. But the Renaissance opened the eyes of students and inquirers to a great deal of rubbish which overlaid the fine gold of real devotion, and which they felt ought to be swept away.

The poorer among the people felt oppressed by the exactions of the secular clergy (or parish priests) with regard to mortuary dues. The word "mortuary"

means "belonging to the burial of the dead." In the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the sixteenth, centuries the clergyman claimed as his due the robe in which a person died or the sheet in which he was wrapped. The very poor found this an extremely hard tax, and, oppressed in one way, they were the more ready to believe anything not creditable to the clergy in others.

In the year A.D. 1500 the King on the English throne was Henry VII., the Archbishop of Canterbury was Cardinal Morton, and the Pope of Rome was Alexander VI.

So many events were crowded into the years that follow—years of unrest, all having their bearing upon the great movement called the Reformation—that we can only glance at a few of them. This year 1500 was the year of jubilee at Rome, and pilgrims to that city were granted indulgences and pardon of sins on payment of money to the Pope, who wished to carry on a crusade against the Turks.

A great deal of money was thus collected, but not enough, so the Pope hit upon another mode of obtaining supplies. He knew that many persons had been unable to make the pilgrimage to Rome; but, in order that they should benefit in the same manner as those who had not been hindered, or that he should benefit by collections thus missed, he sent legates to the different countries of Europe commanding the people to give according to their means towards the Pope's crusade, and in return they should receive indulgences with the greater benefit of pardon for their sins.

Maximilian, King of the Romans, and Ferdinand of Spain collected the money, but they kept it for their own use.

Henry VII., though very fond of money, was honest, and he acted differently. He did not allow the Pope's right to tax his subjects, but he was willing to help him, so he required the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to collect the money for the purpose of a crusade, but he declined to supply men to assist in the expedition.

The Turks were constantly threatening the peace of Christendom, so that the Pope's wish for a crusade to subdue them was not, in itself, wrong, though the means taken to raise the necessary money were very decidedly so. We cannot wonder that people lost faith in the soundness of the papal system when it promoted such terribly wrong and blasphemous doings; for no Pope can forgive sins—they can be pardoned by God alone.

In November 1501 the King's elder son, Prince Arthur, was married to Katharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He died in the following April.

The discovery of America in 1492 opened out a new field to Englishmen, who thus became aware of the existence of other races of men who held different faiths from their own, had other customs and modes of life. A spirit of inquiry was aroused, and Sir Thomas More's book *Utopia*, written some years afterwards, stimulated this spirit of inquiry in a remarkable manner.

In 1501 Archbishop Morton died. He was not

only a munificent patron of learning, but he knew how to appreciate good men, and it was through his exertions that Anselm, the saintly Archbishop of the time of William Rufus, was canonized—an honour hitherto withheld.

In the time of Richard III., then Protector of England, Morton, who was Bishop of Ely, made a road from Cambridge to Ely and carried out the great work of draining the fens surrounding the Cathedral town. And that they needed draining you may learn from the *Camp of Refuge* and Kingsley's story of *Hereward the Wake*.

Henry Deane, who succeeded Archbishop Morton at Canterbury, had been Bishop of Bangor, and had done good work in that diocese, which was then at a low ebb with regard to its fortunes and usefulness. This was owing to disputes between the Welsh and English. He was also of great use to Henry VII. in the settlement of Ireland.

But he was Archbishop of Canterbury not quite two years, and on his death William Warham, Bishop of London, was translated to Canterbury, and filled the chair of St. Augustine nearly thirty years.

Thomas Savage was Archbishop of York at this time.

Among the bishops who—as statesmen—had been of great use to Henry VII. was Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester. He had always been Henry's faithful friend.

Richard III. had once informed the Pope that a primary duty of the bishops of Durham was to defend the country against the Scots. And certainly Fox,

when Bishop of Durham, faithfully discharged this so-called duty. In a mission to King James IV. he was so successful in his efforts for peace that he brought about the marriage of the King of Scots with the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

But Fox was not entirely engaged in political affairs. He was a lover of learning and founded Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and he was a warm admirer of Erasmus and his great work, the New Testament in Greek.

Desiderius Erasmus was a very remarkable man. A native of Rotterdam, who had come to Oxford to study Greek, he was soon a beloved and most influential member of that little band of brilliant students who were not only enthusiastic devotees of the New Learning, but all eager Reformers, even before the actual Reformation, and Erasmus was perhaps the most ardent Reformer of all.

His great and most intense desire was for a Bible which all might read. He saw that the Church through her teachers had departed from the simplicity of the teaching of our Lord Himself, and he wrote, as Colet preached, in order to clear men's eyes from the spiritual mist with which superstition had clouded them, and he worked with this great end in view.

And in our day, when the Bible is translated into all languages, and is within the reach of every one, it is good to look back with grateful remembrance to such men as Wyclif and Erasmus, who, by their efforts to make the Bible known to all, struck at the root of much error, and made the way clear for those who had been led astray.

It was the knowledge of Greek which made the work of Erasmus so valuable, for the New Testament, being translated from the original, was of course a much better and truer translation than one from the Latin. It went straight to the source, and was purer in consequence.

At Cambridge, the great work of Erasmus was a most important factor in the Reformation.

Among others who delighted in the New Learning was Richard Pace, Dean of St. Paul's. He was high in the favour of Henry VIII., and it is said the great Wolsey was inclined to be jealous of him. Wolsey was a keen advocate of the New Learning, so also were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Last, but not least, of the noted men of the Renaissance was Prince Henry himself.

In 1509 Henry VII. died, and as his elder son Arthur had died in 1502, the successor to the throne was his younger son Henry VIII., who, a few weeks after his accession, married Katharine of Aragon, his brother's widow.

There were doubts raised as to whether it was not against the law for a man to marry his brother's widow. It was certainly contrary to Canon Law, but the Pope, Julius II., overruled these objections and granted a dispensation for Henry to marry Katharine.

The beautiful chapel in Westminster Abbey, which Henry VII. began in order that it might contain his own tomb, was finished in the reign of his son. It is a fine specimen of Tudor architecture, and is known as Henry VII.'s chapel.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY

SAD thoughts fill our minds as we dwell upon the life of Henry VIII., and think of what might have been had he fulfilled the promise of his early days.

Canon Dixon in his *History of the Church* describes the character of Henry as one of "degraded magnificence."

His talents were brilliant, his powers of intellect great, his manner noble, frank, and gracious, as became a prince, and he had also great regard for religion; it is even said that his father had wished him to take Holy Orders. He was handsome of face, athletic of figure, and had that genial manner which wins the heart. But above every other quality he possessed an iron will—a will that if rightly directed would have kept him in a straight and even course, but, degraded as it was, it wrought his fall.

But in 1509 when he came to the throne all hearts rejoiced, and for a time affairs went smoothly in England, but this was not the case on the Continent, where wars and disputes among the nations and the Pope were constant and serious.

Plots and schemes of an intricate and bewildering

nature, put forward by one nation against another, are called political intrigues.

In 1513 Henry was induced by Ferdinand of Spain (his father-in-law) to make war on the King of France. After the victory of the English at the Battle of the Spurs, peace was made between the two countries. When Ferdinand died, his grandson Charles succeeded him. He was afterwards made Emperor of Germany, and is known to us as Charles v., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany and the Low Countries.

Charles v. and Francis I. of France were rivals, and each wanted to win over Henry to his side, and as he could not be the friend of both, he always took the side of the weakest, though he had no wish to quarrel with Charles, who was nephew to Queen Katharine.

In all these disputes and plots Pope Julius II. was mixed up. He died in 1513, but the war with France was continued by Leo X. In 1519 Charles was proclaimed Emperor, and in 1520 peace was made between France and England, and Henry VIII. and Francis met as friends on the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

All these plots and wars had an effect upon the History of our Church in this way. The Pope wished to keep friendly with all three sovereigns, but that was not easy, and Henry, who was blunt and straightforward, could not have much faith in a policy which was variable as the shifting sand.

He was himself very clever and shrewd, but he needed a minister who would carry out his wishes,

and he found this agent in Thomas Wolsey, who was soon high in his favour and confidence, as he had been with his father, Henry VII.

Wolsey was such a remarkable man that I must tell you a little about him, as he was a most important person at this time, both in the Church and nation.

Thomas Wolsey was a native of Suffolk, as was the famous Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century. Wolsey was born in 1471. Both were men of unusual talents and power.

But the possession of great talents brings ambition with it, and so both Grossetête and Wolsey rose to their great heights in various ways, urged on by a noble aim, reached by the perseverance of a dauntless will.

We are told that Wolsey's father was a butcher. Probably he was a grazier as well, for he was well-to-do in the world and able to give his son a good education at the Ipswich Grammar School and afterwards at Oxford.

He went up to Oxford and took his degree so early that he was called the Boy Bachelor, was admitted to Holy Orders, became a Fellow of Magdalen College, and was, in succession, tutor in the family of the Marquis of Dorset, vicar of Lymington in Hampshire, and, early in the sixteenth century, chaplain to Henry VII.

This wary king entrusted Wolsey with two difficult missions. He wanted a messenger of ability and tact to hinder a war with England, which James IV. of Scotland was projecting. And he was sent to

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[P.T.O.]

Flanders on another mission with regard to the King's wish to marry Margaret of Savoy.

Henry was so satisfied with the success of these missions that he made Wolsey Dean of Lincoln. The dean of a cathedral is the head of the cathedral body of clergy. You will often hear of the dean and chapter of a cathedral. The word dean comes from the Latin *decem*—ten, so that literally a "dean" means "a chief of ten men." "Chapter" in this sense means a body of clergymen belonging to a cathedral or collegiate church, from the Latin *caput*—head.

The office of dean is one of great importance, though quite different from that of a bishop. The dean is in charge of the structure of the cathedral, and is head of its government. He has as complete control over it as if it were his own private chapel, as no one, not even the bishop, can preach in it without his permission; and he is responsible for all the services. The bishop, as head of the diocese, has his throne in the cathedral, while the dean occupies a stall on the south side of the choir. This side is called *decani*, because the dean sits there. The various members of the chapter hold special offices, but I need only mention two—the office of precentor and that of chancellor.

The precentor has the direction of the cathedral music: the name comes from the Latin word *cantor*—a singer. His stall is on the north side of the choir door, which is why that side is called *cantori*.

The chancellor has charge of the work of education connected with the cathedral. But, over all the cathedral clergy, the dean—always a learned

man—is head; so that it was an important post to give to so young a man.

On the accession of Henry VIII., Bishop Fox of Winchester brought Wolsey under his especial notice. Henry made him his almoner, and he soon became not only prime favourite, but prime minister. In 1511 the King made him a member of the Privy Council. Then for a short time he was Bishop of Lincoln, and from that see was promoted to the archbishopric of York. In 1514 the Pope made him a Cardinal, or Prince of the Church at Rome, the highest rank he could confer. He was also Lord Chancellor in succession to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Lord Chancellor is a great lawyer, and in these days it would seem extraordinary for the same person to discharge the duties of the two highest offices in Church and State. But the chief civil offices were in the olden days held by clergymen because they were more learned than other men; besides, Henry VII. and his son Henry VIII. were possessed of keen judgment and insight, and they chose only the most able men to aid them in their government.

The King was absolute in his commands and decrees, and they were carried out by an absolute minister. It was Wolsey who directed both home and foreign affairs—not that the credit of a wise policy was always given to him; the King took it as his right. But Wolsey was the scapegoat if things went wrong. Not only did he bear the blame of his own deeds, but that of the King's, which seems

hard, because, though he gave the King good advice, he thought himself bound to carry out the King's wishes, even when he did not agree with him.

As Lord Chancellor he was supreme in all matters of law and justice, and as the Pope's legate he ruled all affairs in the Church, so that nobody in England now appealed to Rome. He was a splendid ruler, prompt and accurate, energetic and thorough. Though wide awake to his own interests, he was sincere in his devotion to the King. Though he lived in great luxury and with almost royal pomp, he was not selfish, but was magnificently generous.

Yet he was a great pluralist—Bishop of Bath and Bishop of Durham at the same time, and, later, Bishop of Winchester and Abbot of St. Albans; he was also receiving pensions from France and Spain. This makes it the more wonderful that he was strong on the side of reform in the clergy, especially as in his own life there was much need of reformation. But unbounded success had blinded him. He had no longer a single aim; for his own and the King's glory came before that of God.

The King was so bent on having his own way that he set aside one of the laws of the land in order to further his own ends.

You remember the Statute of *Præmunire* passed in the reign of Edward III. against the encroachments of the Pope. One of its conditions was that the State had the right to forbid the admission of papal bulls within the kingdom.

But Henry even asked the Pope to make Wolsey

his legate. Not only Wolsey, but all the other clergy submitted to this without a protest.

Wolsey was made legate together with Cardinal Campeggio in 1518; but the year before this a great stir had been made in Germany by an Augustinian friar named Martin Luther.

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN REFORMATION

THE degradation of the clergy and the depraved condition of the monasteries were much worse on the Continent than in England; and the longing for reform and the horror at the abuses of the papal system were at work in men's minds there even as they were here.

In 1415 and the following year two followers of Wyclif, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were burnt at the stake at Constance for their reforming opinions. Even in the Pope's own country the eyes of earnest men could not be closed to the terrible state of affairs in the Church; and in 1498 Savonarola, an Italian Dominican, was burnt at Florence in consequence of his violent invectives against the Pope.

Thus from time to time a restless spirit among Churchmen would show itself, and, as the corruptions of the Papacy grew worse, the longing for reform also grew till a man arose determined to spare nothing that offended, but to make a full end. This man was Martin Luther.

The Reformation movement in Germany affected for good or evil the English Church, so that it is

necessary to tell you of its three great promoters—Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben in Saxony in 1483.

He was always earnest in his desire for knowledge, and, mounting step by step, he took his degree at the University of Erfurt in 1505.

While he was there he began to think seriously of life and what it meant. Later on he entered the Augustinian convent at Erfurt.

He went through much both in body and spirit while at Erfurt, where he studied the Scriptures with great eagerness, and in 1508 was made Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg. In 1510 he made a pilgrimage to Rome.

He set out on his journey with the fullest belief in the Papacy, but, on seeing the warlike Pope Julius II. mounted on horseback in fighting array, his belief in the spirituality of the Pope had a rude shock. Expecting to find the Roman clergy more learned than those in Germany, he was quickly undeceived. Their ignorance was bad enough, but their terrible profanity was a thousand times worse. Rome had lost one of her most devoted sons when he turned back to Germany.

Julius II. was succeeded by Leo X., a man of great artistic tastes and a patron of learned men, but totally unworthy of his high office.

Leo X., wishing to complete the building of St. Peter's at Rome, encouraged the sale of indulgences in a way which revolted not only the soul of Luther, but the souls of many others in Germany who

had before this not wavered in their fidelity to Rome.

In 1517 a Dominican friar named Tetzl was employed to sell indulgences, which, he said, would free a soul from the punishment of sins after death. It was a terrible thing to impose upon the affection of those who had lost friends by death by telling them that these indulgences would procure pardon for those they loved and freedom from punishment. "Every time you drop a coin in my box," said the dealer in this unholy traffic, "and the moment it rings on the bottom, up flies the soul of your friend to heaven."

The sums gained by the Pope in this way were enormous.

Abuses having reached this shocking pitch, Martin Luther took a courageous step. He wrote out ninety-five theses—that is to say, statements about the sale of indulgences—inviting learned people to dispute with him on the subject. These theses he nailed to the great door of the church at Wittenberg. And now the whole of Germany was roused. Thousands showed themselves to be on Luther's side; but the Pope, though he treated the whole affair as a dispute among the friars and monks, was bound to take notice of his statements, and sent Dr. Eck, a Professor of Divinity, to argue with him.

We must pass over much which is interesting in the life of Luther and come to the time when in 1520 Leo x., having confirmed the doctrine of Indulgences, issued a bull condemning his writings, and, forbidding all persons to read them, ordered the books to be burnt. Luther burnt the bull, and was excommunicated.

Later he was summoned to meet the Emperor Charles v. at the Diet (or Parliament) of Worms, in order that he might plead his cause.

But he pleaded in vain and was placed under the ban of the empire. The Elector of Saxony gave him a hiding-place in Thuringia, and there he wrote and denounced all the errors of the Papacy, its authority, and its doctrines.

His pamphlets were sent throughout Christendom by the printing press, and many found their way to England.

In the year 1529 a Diet was held at Spires, where the princes who sided with the Emperor agreed that Church affairs should remain as they were till a General Council could be held. Those persons who upheld Luther presented to the Emperor a *protest*, from which circumstance they and all the Lutheran party were styled *Protestants*.

This you must remember, for it is not an English title, nor had it originally to do with the Reformation of our Church, though later it became the term used to describe those who had refused to acknowledge the Pope's authority in England.

Luther carried out his views with a bold determination, but, like most thoroughgoing Reformers, he could only see one side to a question.

In this he differed from Sir Thomas More and Erasmus, who both longed for reform, but they were not men to cut ruthlessly down what only needed careful pruning, as did the German Reformer; for More could see two sides of a question, while Erasmus saw many.

This one-sidedness of Luther is a subject for regret,

as during the Reformation period in Germany the Lutherans formed a new Church with new organizations, new doctrines, and a new creed. He did away with the bishoprics and suppressed the monasteries.

But some of the people remained true to the Catholic faith brought over from England by our Wilfrid of Ripon in 678, by Willibrord, also from Northumbria, in 690, and by Boniface of Crediton, martyred in 755; also by Willibald, Wurmibald, and Walpurga, the two nephews and niece of Boniface; and we remember how from Iona earlier still there had gone forth missionaries across the North Sea to the Germans and northern France.

It seems strange that a man, blunt, straightforward, and kind-hearted as Luther, should have had less influence in England than another Protestant Reformer, John Calvin. Any system which is the work of one man is apt to have stamped upon it the impress of that man's character, and the creed of Calvin is like himself—gloomy, stern, and cruel.

He was born in Picardy in France in 1509. His doctrine is often called the doctrine of Geneva. He was himself widely different from Luther, though, like him, dead against the errors of Rome.

Ulric Zwingli was another of the continental Reformers. He was a Swiss and was born in 1484. He did not believe in the power of the Sacraments to confer grace, and he treated the Holy Eucharist as merely a remembrance of Christ's death. It has been necessary to mention him at this time because of the influence which he and Calvin later on exercised over the Anglican Church.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY AGAIN

WHILE the minds of people on the Continent were in a state of ferment owing to the uprooting of old customs and ideas, events in England were slowly moving towards the end that was bound to come.

The desire of more power to reform the ecclesiastical courts may have induced Wolsey to desire the office of legate. He felt strongly that the standard of learning ought to be high in those who were set as judges over others in Church matters. A warm patron of the New Learning, it was the desire to encourage this which prompted him to establish a school in his native town, and to found the famous Cardinal's College at Oxford, known to us as Christ Church.

In 1524 he procured from Pope Clement VII. bulls to enable him to convert the monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford into a college, transferring the canons elsewhere, and endowing it with money gained by the suppression of smaller nearly worn-out monasteries. This was not considered confiscation; the same plan had been adopted by Archbishop Chichele and others.

But, of course, such a mode of action was not liked by the monks, and Wolsey's agent in the matter, Thomas Cromwell, was unpopular, as he carried out an unwelcome order in an inconsiderate manner.

It was while Luther was sheltered by the Elector of Saxony that he published so many books and pamphlets against the Roman Church; some of these which found their way to England were burnt at Paul's Cross. Moreover, a command was issued by Wolsey to all the bishops of the English Church "that every such bishop receiving Luther's books and writings should send them up to him."

Among these writings was one which attacked some of the doctrines of the Church so strongly that Henry VIII., being a man skilled in theology, wrote an answer to it, in which he may have been assisted by Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and Dr. Richard Pace. This we know—they agreed with what the King there set forth.

Leo x. had laughed at Luther's "fine genius," but he was glad to see a Royal author competent enough to defy the German Reformer, and he at once conferred on Henry the title of *Fidei Defensor*—Defender of the Faith. Our sovereigns still bear this title, as you may see on every coin issued from the Royal mint.

Later, in 1523, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester published a book to confute the views of Luther.

Leo x. died about two months after conferring the title of Defender of the Faith upon Henry, and was succeeded by Adrian VI., who was only Pope one year. Clement VII. succeeded him in 1523.

Outwardly Henry still bowed to the Pope as

head in all spiritual matters, as he had been for centuries considered the spiritual Father of Western Christendom. But in reality Henry was sapping his power when he caused Wolsey to be made legate.

He wished to have the direction of Church matters as well as those of the State entirely in his hands. Wolsey always carried out his wishes; and so, as legate, he could bend him to his Royal will and do whatever he liked without an appeal to the Pope. It was a deep-laid scheme to get all the power into his own hands.

As yet the King had no open quarrel with the Pope, but only an occasion was wanting for the breach with Rome to which all the events of the past years had been surely tending, and the occasion soon arose.

While Wolsey was full of plans for his college at Oxford and his school at Ipswich, and beginning to dissolve monasteries whose work seemed dying out, in order to apply their funds to the work of education, the King professed to be doubtful as to the legality of his marriage with Katharine, his brother's widow.

The fact was that Henry was tired of his good queen, Katharine, and wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a young lady of the Court. He may have had real scruples, but certainly appearances were against him.

Now, as Pope Julius II. had given him permission to marry Katharine, he applied to the present Pope to declare that dispensation illegal, and so enable him to marry Anne Boleyn.

We can understand that if one pope were to set aside as of no force an act of a former pope, it would

be opening the way to all sorts of questions. If one act could be set aside, so could other acts; there would be no security anywhere.

But Clement would probably have found a loophole of escape from his perplexity had Church law been the only question, but there were others.

The three most powerful monarchs in the Europe of that day were Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. of France, and Charles v., Emperor of Germany; and the Pope wished to be friendly with all three.

He knew that the Emperor would strongly object to the divorce of his aunt, but yet, if he did not grant it, he would lose his power over England.

However, Henry, bent upon having his own way, tried to force from his councillors an opinion in favour of the divorce from Katharine. Many of them, notably Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, were strongly opposed to it.

The King had for six years governed the country without a parliament. But in 1529 one was summoned, known by the name of the Reformation Parliament. Not that those who sat in it were all bent on reform; most of them were in subjection to the King, and in terror of their lives if they dared to oppose his wishes.

But the name reminds us that it was during the sitting of that Parliament, which lasted from 1529 to 1536, that many changes were made which were the actual commencement of the Reformation in England, for, tyrant as Henry was, he always sheltered his evil deeds behind an Act of Parliament. He might threaten to have the heads of any who opposed him,

and so forced them to yield to his will; but when the Act was once passed it was treason to disobey it, and traitors must suffer the death of traitors.

Among those who opposed the King's divorce was Henry's cousin, Reginald Pole. He owed much to Henry, for when only twenty-one he had been sent by him to Italy, and he had studied at Padua and was the friend of some of the finest scholars of the time.

He was very grateful to the King for all he had done for him, and up to this time—he was now in his thirtieth year—was a most loyal subject, but he strongly objected to the proposed divorce, and wished to have nothing to do with it. But Henry, thinking he would be a valuable ally, asked him to obtain the opinions of learned men in the University of Paris.

Pole could not refuse to obtain the opinions asked for. These were in favour of the King. Soon afterwards he returned to England, and Henry, thinking Pole was on his side, offered to him the bishoprics of Winchester and York.

But Reginald Pole was honest, and, though he had given the opinions of the learned men of Paris as he was bound to do, he still held to his own: he did not approve of the divorce, and so he told the King, and thus put away from him the promotion that had been offered by his Royal kinsman. He then again left England.

Gardiner was now appointed to Winchester, and Edward Lee to the archbishopric of York.

In June 1529 the two legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, held a Court at Blackfriars, and both Henry and his Queen were summoned to appear.

Katharine would not allow that they had the right to judge her, and she appealed to the Pope. Bishop Fisher made a strong speech in her favour, and he was upheld by Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph.

The King was very angry at this, but nothing was decided at this Court, and it seemed for a little while as if he had given up the idea of a divorce. This, however, was far from being the case, for soon a way out of the difficulty was suggested by Thomas Cranmer, a private tutor, who said that the proper persons to consult on such a matter were learned members of the European Universities. Henry caught at this, and some Universities, after pressure brought to bear on them, decided in favour of the King. Wolsey, who disliked Anne Boleyn, still tried to please Henry, and his double dealing brought about his ruin.

The nobles were mostly enemies of Wolsey. They were jealous of his power with the King, though they could never have filled his place. Good men who were above jealousy objected to him for many reasons, and Anne Boleyn hated him with a deadly hatred. Henry himself was angry with him because in the matter of the divorce he had acted a double part; not willing to offend the Pope, he, at the same time, did not wish to make an enemy of Henry. But his strong objection to Anne Boleyn went against him with the King.

Henry was so extremely mean as to charge the man who really loved him with the offence of breaking the statute of Præmunire in accepting the office of legate. That he had broken it was quite true, but

the Pope had appointed him at Henry's own request. But now, wishing for a reason to disgrace the minister who had served him only too well, he was accused and dismissed from Court. Added to this, Wolsey in his office of legate had to pay a heavy fine to the King, and so had the clergy who had accepted him.

Sir Thomas More was made Chancellor in his stead. Wolsey's property was given up to the King, and he had to retire to his tower at Esher, not far from the stately palace he had built for himself at Hampton.

On the way he was met at Putney by a messenger from the King, who gave him a gold ring from Henry, with a message that he was not really displeased with him and all should be well in the end.

Still, he was not restored to favour. When Parliament was summoned in November, More sat in Wolsey's place as Chancellor. He could not have felt secure in it, as he was strongly against the divorce, and had told the King he could not serve him in that matter.

Wolsey was accused of high treason and of many things that were most untrue, and the bill of attainder (as such an accusation was called) passed the House of Lords, but the Commons threw it out, owing to the influence of his secretary, Thomas Cromwell, of whom you will hear more very soon.

Wolsey was sent to his own diocese of York, which he visited now for the first time. This in itself was not a trial to him, but he felt keenly the King's injustice in robbing his see of York Place, the Archbishop's London house,

Shelley, the judge who was sent to compel him to give up this house, met with a meek reply from the once haughty Cardinal, and yet, though meek, it was most courageous and showed that he feared God more than the King.

"Master Shelley," he said, "I will no wise disobey, inasmuch as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore, I charge your conscience, and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show His Majesty from me that I most humbly desire His Highness to call to his most gracious remembrance that there is both heaven and hell."

Before he could journey north he was sent for his health to a lodge in Richmond Park, having resigned the bishopric of Worcester and the Abbey of St. Albans. But before Easter he was on his way northward. He spent the summer at Southwell, which was then in the province of York.

Here, to his deep sorrow, he was told that the King meant to suppress his college at Oxford and his school at Ipswich. Truly, it seemed that the King was spiteful as well as unjust.

Later, on his way to York, he stayed for a time at Cawood near Selby, and here another blow fell upon him.

Quite suddenly the Earl of Northumberland appeared and arrested him on a charge of high treason. So Wolsey again turned towards London, where he was told he would be tried. But he was far from well, and went by easy stages, staying for a time at Sheffield as a guest of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Here Sir William Kingston, Constable of the

Tower, came to him and told him what was before him.

He was very ill and feeble, old before his time, for he was only fifty-eight, but, as soon as he could move, he journeyed on to Leicester. We know how he went to the Abbey where he was received with all kindness and respect, and how he said, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you."

As he lay there, tended by the faithful monks, Sir William Kingston, sadly accustomed to sights that wring the sternest heart, did his best to soothe him, but Wolsey knew that to hope for mercy from his false master would be vainer than all the hopes of his life.

He could not tell how he would live in his great foundation at Oxford and in the public professorship of Greek he founded there, or that the one gateway of his unsuccessful school at Ipswich would call him to remembrance, nor how visitors to the quaint old town would go to visit his birthplace and the church of St. Nicholas to which his proud father left a bequest for the painting of an archangel over the high altar, and where he, full of filial affection, had placed a marble slab to the memory of his parents.

Sad and penitent he lay on his dying bed, and just after sunrise on a chill November morning he passed away "to where beyond these voices there is peace."

It is customary with some to dwell upon his failings, for we know—

"The evil that men do lives after them ;
The good is oft interrèd with their bones."



WOLSEY'S GATEWAY, IPSWICH

But however we may look upon the life and character of Wolsey we can but be touched as we read his last words, which point the moral of his life—

“If I had served my God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs.”

CHAPTER V

SIR THOMAS MORE—AND OTHER BRAVE MEN

IT would not be possible to write of the Church and national history of Wolsey's days without giving him the foremost place. But what of those other friends of the New Learning—that little band of brilliant Oxford students who made famous the closing years of the fifteenth century and those early days of the sixteenth?

Only four were living at the time of Wolsey's death on the twenty-ninth of November 1530.

These were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More and his friend Erasmus.

Colet and Grocyn had died in 1519, Lilly in 1522, Linacre in 1524, while Richard Fox, the founder of Corpus, who had brought Wolsey forward in his early days, died only two years before him in 1528.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, belonged to Cambridge. It was through him that the Lady Margaret, grandmother of Henry VIII., founded Christ's College, and later St. John's College, which was more important still, and also the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity which Erasmus

once held. He lived till 1535, and the manner of his death I will tell you later.

Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was almost entirely eclipsed by the famous Archbishop of York. He was a retiring man, anxious for Church reform, towards which he did much, but not having either ability or energy to do all that was needed. It was consciousness of this which made him yield to Wolsey to begin the work of Church reform.

But before Wolsey was made legate Warham retired from the Chancellorship.

He was a simple-minded religious man, with a strong sense of duty, and cared nothing for pomp or show. His delight in mixing with the students of the New Learning, his open-handed generosity to those who needed help, especially his great kindness to Erasmus, which endeared him to that famous scholar—all these show him to have been a lovable and faithful friend; and in his high position in the Church he discharged his duty with the utmost fidelity.

But it required a very strong man to cope with the genius of Wolsey, and in such a sense Warham was not strong, and, had he been Wolsey's equal, collisions might have occurred, disastrous to the general good.

You have probably read more of Sir Thomas More than of any other of the learned band. But some of you may be students at St. Paul's School, and may remember that touching entreaty made to its first scholars by Dean Colet, the founder of the

school: "Lift up your little white hands for me, for me which prayeth for you to God."

It showed how anxious he was for the good of the children that he had placed over the gate the image of the Holy Child, and underneath were the words: "Hear ye Him."

Thomas More took Colet as "the director of his life," and looked up to him with the greatest devotion. As a boy he had been taken into the household of Archbishop Morton as page. There his talents so impressed his master that he was wont to remark, "Whosoever liveth to see it, shall see this child here waiting at table prove a notable and rare man." He was so quick that when a Latin play was acted at Christmas-tide he could, without preparation, invent and act a comic part.

At Oxford he was so enthusiastic about the New Learning that his father removed him, probably thinking that Greek would be of no use to him as a lawyer. He was beloved by his friends for his sweet and genial temper, and admired for his quick wit and powerful intellect. But underlying all his mirth and laughter was a truly ascetic spirit. At one time he wore a hair shirt next his skin; he often scourged himself and fasted from food, besides accustoming himself to take very little sleep, because his great wish was to become a Franciscan friar.

But this wish he had to give up. Probably as time went on he realized that the Church had need for devoted laymen who could live *in* the world and yet not be *of* it. Certainly he would have been a great loss had he entered a convent instead of being

an open example to all men of a holy, earnest, and most upright life—a devoted husband and a loving and beloved father.

He always showed a fine courage, and spoke out his opinions with boldness. He had openly stated when beginning his work in the world that he meant “first to look to God and, after God, the king.”

Thus we read that, when in Parliament at the age of twenty-five, he fell into disgrace with Henry VII. because he opposed a measure which the King desired.

For six years or more he was out of Court favour, but rose to eminence in the early days of Henry VIII. A shrewd judgment of character made the King see the worth of the young lawyer, and this, coupled with delight in the charming manner, the deep learning, and love of music which distinguished More, drew the two men together, for Henry was not yet so debased as to choose evil rather than good, and to care for nothing but his own will and pleasure.

In May 1515 More was sent with Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to meet the ambassadors of Charles V. on the matter of renewing the alliance with him. The next year he went with More to Brussels, on an embassy, and there they lived in the same house with Erasmus, who was always More's devoted friend.

More had already written a History of Edward V. and Richard III., and in 1516 he published *Utopia*, a book which would have made him famous for all time even if he had no other claims to our

remembrance. The book is almost prophetic, for it breathes the very spirit of reform.

Erasmus and others who upheld the New Learning had supported Luther till he wrote a reply to the book which had gained for Henry the title of Defender of the Faith.

This reply was so insolent that it roused the anger of both More and Bishop Fisher; and the lawyer hotly, and the bishop more calmly, showed Luther that they had no sympathy with his views, for he wished to do away entirely with the Past and form a new Church.

The friends of the New Learning, realizing that man was made in the image of God, wished to find out the good in every one, and through that good to lead him upward to the light. Luther declared man to be by nature incapable of good; and he despised reason, the great human gift, and had no toleration for other means of reform than a clean sweep of abuses, the doing away of the Past, and founding a new Church.

We can well understand that More, a devoted husband and father, would view with horror and dismay the King's desire to get rid of Katharine, his faithful wife.

For this unhappy business—"the King's business," as it was called—still dragged on. His chief advisers who favoured the divorce were Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, his almoner. You must not confuse him with Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1528.

Difficulties crowded thick and fast, and Pope Clement, instead of giving a straightforward answer to Henry's question, still hesitated even two years after Wolsey's death, and made obstacles and delays till the King lost all patience and at last openly defied the Pope. He was bent on having his own way, and had even been recommended to marry Anne without waiting for a judgment. So he asserted his right to do as he liked and judge cases of conscience without advice from others. And to show that he meant to do this he styled himself Supreme Head of the Church. This was in 1531.

Now, though this actual title was a new one and came as a shock to many who had, by reason of the custom of three centuries, looked to the Pope as one who could finally settle ecclesiastical questions, it could not be denied that the King of England had always been regarded legally as supreme over all persons, clerical or lay, in his own kingdom. But to be Supreme Head of the English Church meant more than this. The Pope's *primacy* over the Western Church was another thing.

You remember that in the early days of the Church the Bishop of Rome was only considered *primus inter pares*—chief among his equals—and that because Rome was the chief place in Western Christendom, and also because there was a tradition that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome and that his successors were of more importance than other bishops. But the Pope's *supremacy*—that is, his power to rule the English Church and to decide its difficult questions by listening to appeals—was something that had only gradually,

grown up and was not primitive. This you must have seen in studying English Church History from the beginning, so I need not dwell upon it here.

It was Thomas Cromwell who suggested to the King that he should take this title and so set the Pope at naught, and marry Anne Boleyn.

The clergy, who had broken the law of Præmunire by accepting Cardinal Wolsey as legate, had to pay a heavy fine, but before the King would pardon them they were required to acknowledge him Supreme Head of the Church.

Several objected to this, and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, boldly stood out against it. Finally, it was settled in Convocation with a saving clause; by which I mean it was not accepted absolutely, but—according to Archbishop Warham's correction—"so far as the law of Christ allows."

The King then tried to make all the clergy submit to his will; but this was easier said than done. You could not at present understand all the different points on which the King tried to force them to submit. On some of the points he was right, as when he greatly limited the "benefit of clergy." Then another blow was aimed at the Pope when in 1532 an Act was passed against *annates* or payment of first-fruits to the Pope. In it a further defiance of papal authority was set forth. It provided that, should the Pope in consequence of this Act lay the kingdom under an interdict, it would be disregarded. The sacraments should continue to be administered, and the consecrations of archbishops and bishops take place without any aid or interference from Rome.

This Act became law in 1532, not without great opposition. Later on these *annates* or first-fruits which had been withdrawn from the Pope were given to the Crown.

It took two years to settle what was called "the submission of the clergy," and meanwhile more happened to sever the connection of the Church of England with that of Rome.

In 1532, on the 22nd of August, Archbishop Warham died, and Thomas Cranmer, who had been chaplain in the Boleyn family, and who was in favour of the divorce, was chosen by the King to be Archbishop of Canterbury. But he was not consecrated till the following year.

With the new Archbishop on his side, Henry now made short work of his scruples and settled the divorce question by marrying Anne Boleyn.

In April 1533 another Act was passed—the Act in restraint of Appeals—which took away the right of the Pope to hear appeals from England.

Meanwhile, Queen Katharine had appealed to Rome, and Pope Clement was preparing his reply.

CHAPTER VI

MARTYRS FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE

THOMAS CRANMER was learned in the law, and you remember it was he who suggested to the King that the opinions of the Universities should be taken on the question of the divorce.

The two English Universities held out for some time, but gave in at last, and, while Cranmer was in Germany trying to get support from the Universities there, he heard that he was appointed to the see of Canterbury.

Cranmer may have been sincere in the view he took of the divorce, but there is no doubt he was weak, and wanting in moral courage. Indeed, a man who was true to his conscience could not have been the servant of such a King.

On the 29th of May Cranmer decided against Queen Katharine in favour of Anne; and on the 11th of July Pope Clement decided against Anne in favour of Queen Katharine.

Then a little later he excommunicated Henry VIII., who declared that he did not care a straw for anything the Pope could do against him.

However, in November of this year, Bonner, Bishop of London, sought an interview with the Pope and told

him Henry meant to appeal to a General Council against the sentence of excommunication.

I tell you this because I wish you to grasp the fact that the breach with Rome was not made by one blow, but by degrees, and over many different points of contest.

It is a mistake to say that the divorce was the cause of the breach. There were many causes, but an opportunity or occasion was needed. One man may disagree with another on various matters of more or less importance which dispose them to quarrel even while they keep the peace. Then suddenly a question arises quite apart from the other reasons for dispute, and on that question they finally disagree and part. But if that question had not arisen another certainly would have appeared, for when the string of a bow is too tightly strained it must break at last, and so it was now. The cord which bound the English Church to Rome snapped at last in the King's hand, and it has never been mended—the severance was once for all.

It was now decided by the King's council that the Pope should be spoken of as "Bishop of Rome," and be considered only as a foreign bishop who had no authority in England whatever.

In January 1534 other Acts were passed ; one had to do with the election of bishops, another abolished Peter's Pence and all payments to Rome.

Then, later, came the Oath of Succession, which all in authority were commanded to take. But as it was against Queen Katharine and Princess Mary, and settled the crown on the child or children of Henry

and Anne Boleyn, there were some who could not conscientiously take it, some who still upheld their own opinion and the opinion of the Pope, that Katharine was rightly wife and Queen and the Princess Mary lawful heir to the throne.

There were many who found some way out of the difficulty, but Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were far too upright to tamper with conscience: what they believed right, that they must say and do at all costs. So when Bishop Fisher and, later, Sir Thomas More were summoned to Lambeth they obeyed, well knowing what their integrity would cost them.

From his well-loved garden at Chelsea, More set off one April morning in 1535, and on his way to Lambeth a terrible temptation came upon him. Should he yield and say what was not true? Should he swear falsely and deny his Master?

It was a sore conflict in his faithful heart as he sat in silence while in the early morning the boat dropped down the stream. At last he roused himself with a start. "I thank our Lord," he cried, "the field is won."

Vain were all the efforts of Cranmer to persuade him that he would not be wrong in taking the oath. He would not be untrue to his conscience, though he must have felt sad at heart as he sat in Lambeth Palace where so often he and Erasmus had been guests of Archbishop Warham in the happy days now gone. Nothing served to move him. The King's cruelty had full sway. More was sent to the Tower.

While there that terrible tragedy at the Charterhouse

took place, which was indeed the beginning of sorrows.

The Oath of Succession as well as that of the King's Supremacy had been taken by most of the religious Orders, though the Order of Friars Observant (those who most strictly observed the Rule of St. Francis) refused, and the Order was at once suppressed.

The strongest opposition and the longest was that made by the monks of the Charterhouse, those strict Carthusians whose charity and self-denial were widely known.

These Carthusians were known far and wide for their good deeds. When required to subscribe to the Oath of Succession and the King's Supremacy, they stoutly resisted, and John Houghton, the Prior, and one of the Brethren were lodged in the Tower.

At last they were persuaded that it would not be wrong to take the oath with the saving clause, "as far as was lawful." Some agreed to this, others did not; but Prior Houghton was released. He went so far as to ask Cromwell not to press the Brethren further; but all in vain.

The King always sheltered his brutality under an Act of Parliament. So now some few monks, mostly those of the Charterhouse, were accused of treason.

All these suffered the shameful death of traitors; others were thrown into Newgate, to die there of gaol-fever and starvation.

Later on three other of the Charterhouse monks were hanged at Tyburn.

These horrors failed to shake the resolution of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who were in

their turn brought to trial. Bishop Fisher's grey head fell on the block on Tower Hill, and a few weeks later Sir Thomas More was sent for to a mock trial in Westminster Hall.

More's high spirit and his forgiveness were never seen to more advantage than at this trial, which was really no trial, as the end had been fixed beforehand. After conducting his own defence ably, as such a sound and learned lawyer would, he said at last that, as St. Paul and St. Stephen whom Paul persecuted were now friends in heaven, he hoped it might be the same with him and his judges.

He kept his brave spirit to the last, even when on the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he was beheaded on the 6th of July 1535.

He was without doubt the first Englishman of his time. "The unparalleled More," Reginald Pole calls him. And afterwards for many years there were few to shine as he did, like a star in a dark sky.

But we must turn our thoughts to other actors in this painful drama.

The old confidence in the power of the Pope had been rudely shaken by Clement's timidity in expressing his opinion on the subject of the divorce; and the people, seeing how powerless he was to check the King's tyranny, felt that his authority over the Church of England was dying fast.

Pope Clement VII. had died in 1534, and his successor, Paul III., furious at the execution of Bishop Fisher and More, tried to frighten Henry into submission. But that only provoked a final Act against the Pope's authority in 1536.

Henry was so unpopular that a rebellion was only hindered by the difficulties on the Continent where Francis I. would take neither Henry's side nor that of the Pope. Charles v., though he felt keenly the shameful treatment of his aunt, Queen Katharine, was afraid to oppose the English King, because he knew very little would make Henry side with Francis against him; and the King of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor, could do nothing without the advice of Charles. So that, though Henry's own nobles asked for the aid of the foreign powers against him, they received none; all seemed bound up in a twisted coil of intrigue.

Thomas Cromwell, now made by Henry's Vicar-General, was supreme in the King's favour. He had been behind the King in the matter of the divorce and the Act of Succession, and he was now all-powerful, so that the two together made the next five years a veritable Reign of Terror.

If you have ever been to Putney you will wonder at its being called a little village. But four hundred years ago it was spoken of as a little village four miles from London: Those who thus spoke of it would not know it now, for all is changed, except that the river still flows between it and Fulham, the place which was such a haunt of birds in the olden time that Fowl-ham (the abode of birds) became its name. You know that the Bishop of London's Palace is there, with its beautiful garden and park and shady walks. Yet Fulham itself is even more altered than Putney. But the sister churches, one on each side of the river, All Saints', Fulham, and St. Mary's,

Putney, still raise their towers above the trees, and the music of their bells floats over the flowing river as in days of old.

Of Thomas Cromwell before he rose into favour with Henry we know really very little. He is said to have been the son of a blacksmith at Putney, and that the blacksmith was poor we infer from the fact that when he died he was buried in Putney churchyard in a common grave. The word "common" here means that it was not private; it belonged to others as well. We have heard that the blacksmith's brother was a servant of Archbishop Warham.

But Thomas Cromwell had marvellous mental gifts, which could have been turned to good account had he been straightforward and true. When quite young he was in the service of the Marchioness of Dorset. Then he took part in the wars of Italy as a common soldier, and learned there such lessons of intrigue as only the debased Italy of that day could teach. Then he was agent to a Venetian merchant, then he was a clerk at Antwerp, and in the early years of Henry's reign he was a wool-merchant in Yorkshire. He lent money at interest to the poorer nobles, so that he became very wealthy. Afterwards he became a member of the House of Commons. Then he entered the service of Cardinal Wolsey.

Now, as I have told you, when Wolsey wished for funds to establish his two colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, he suppressed some of the smaller monasteries and transferred the monks to larger monasteries.

This was an action not likely to please either monks or people, and it was made more unpopular



ST. MARY'S—THE OLD PARISH CHURCH, PUTNEY

by the indifference to the feelings of the monks shown by Cromwell, who was Wolsey's agent in the matter. It roused the hatred of all concerned.

But there was worse to come, as we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

THE character of Thomas Cromwell is difficult to understand. He was entirely unscrupulous, bent on having his way at all costs, and the way was very crooked. Yet he had some friends, and though, as a rule, cold as ice where the feelings of others were concerned, he was the only one of Wolsey's servants who was faithful to the last.

We read that when the great Cardinal was disgraced and sat in his Tower at Esher he "made his moan unto Master Cromwell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave to go to London where he would make or mar, which was always his common saying."

Cromwell went to London and saw the King, and it was owing to his pleading that Wolsey escaped for some time from the King's extreme displeasure. This staunch fidelity to his patron was calculated to win him—at the time—the esteem of all men; and it is, indeed, the redeeming point in Cromwell's history.

But not for this did Henry promote him to be his right hand in affairs of Church and State at Wolsey's death. A different motive weighed with the tyrant King. Cromwell had advised him to end the miser-

able business of the divorce by exercising his own supremacy in defiance of the Pope. This was not known at the time, and Cromwell waited for his promotion.

He knew how the King needed money and advised him to get it by dissolving all monasteries which had less property than £200 a year. It was a shameful proposal. The King led a luxurious life, and was a gambler, and a gambler always wants money. Besides, he had favourites among his courtiers whom he wished to enrich, so this advice of Cromwell fell in with his own wishes.

We have seen how the King sheltered his deeds behind Acts of Parliament. Now he suddenly seemed to find out that the monks and nuns in the smaller religious houses were very wicked, and that it would be an act of justice to turn them out. But first he must have the sanction of Parliament to this cruel measure.

By Cromwell's order some visitations of monasteries had been made in 1535, by two wicked and much-detested men, Doctors Legh and Layton. They were so evil-minded themselves that they looked for evil in this search, and where they did not find it they invented it. It has been said that their reports were entered into what was called the Black Book, and that this book was brought before Parliament by the King to show how debased were the lives of the monks and nuns. But the Book has never been found, and there are strong doubts as to whether it ever existed at all.

There were many in Parliament who objected to this high-handed proceeding and wholesale robbery,

but Henry frightened them into passing the Act. You may think they were very cowardly not to resist ; but we might have done just the same, with the King raging like a tiger as he went up and down, saying : “ You will have to pass this Act, or I’ll have your heads—I’ll have your heads ! ”

And so the shameful Act was passed.

The year 1536 was a very eventful one in the history of the Church of England.

Queen Katharine died in January, and Anne Boleyn was executed on the 19th of May ; and during the summer a final Act was passed for “ extirpating the authority of the Bishop of Rome.”

This was the natural result of former Acts of this reign, and although many had rebelled against the papal authority, they found now they had only exchanged one kind of tyranny for another, and it seemed a worse kind, inasmuch as it was from within the kingdom instead of from without.

Some of the smaller monasteries were dissolved in the early summer. On the 8th of July Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador to the Court of England, wrote to the Emperor’s secretary, and said : “ It is a lamentable thing to see a legion of monks and nuns, who have been chased from their monasteries, wandering miserably hither and thither, seeking means to live ; and several honest men have told me that, what with monks, nuns, and persons dependent on the monasteries suppressed, there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live.”

The Abbey of Netley, near Southampton, had been dissolved in 1534. Netley was originally Lettleby—

a pleasant place—and even in its ruins the abbey reminds us of “the lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground.”

The word *augment* means to increase. The King now established an office called the Augmentation Office, to note down the value of the monasteries and how much money went to increase the coffers of the King, who made himself rich by these unholy spoils.

Unholy they certainly were, being acts of sacrilege. Sacrilege is Church robbery, and the word means “profanation of a sacred place or thing”; from *sacer*—sacred—and *lego*—to gather or steal. Church robbery is the worst kind of pillage.

After the value of these ill-gotten possessions had been sent to the Chancellor of Augmentations, the commissioners were to “dispatch the governor and other religious persons with sufficient rewards.” But we find from the State Papers that this was not always done.

Vain were all the pitiful petitions sent to Cromwell by the heads of houses. He turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and the shameful work went on.

Several abbots, seeing there was no help for it, chose to suppress their own monasteries; but a great number held on to their houses, hoping, in vain, that before long this tyranny would be over-past.

Great unrest prevailed. At length the voice of the people could no longer be quieted, and a rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, which was the beginning of what is known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.

There is a town in Lincolnshire called Louth, which was very rich in religious foundations. Above all, it

possessed the famous Cistercian Abbey of Louth Park, founded by a bishop of Lincoln in 1139, and supplied with monks from the Abbey of Fountains, of whose foundation by holy men full of high aims and boundless self-denial you have read before.

The Louth people were so angry at the destruction of their beautiful Abbey that they were in a state of smouldering heat, ready to break out into a flame, and before long the fire kindled.

The dissolution of the little harmless Cistercian nunnery of Legbourne, near Louth, fanned the slumbering sparks; but it was fear of robbery of the Parish Church of Louth which, at Evensong on the first Sunday in October, set the sparks blazing into a flame.

The Church of St. James at Louth is one of great beauty, and was rich in the possession of many valuable ornaments. Suspicion of a man in the church known to be in the service of Cromwell, once aroused, could not be quelled; and the townsmen put themselves under the leadership of a shoemaker, named Nicholas Melton, and determined to ask the King to stay his hand.

At first it was only a rising of the poorer class, but soon the gentry of the county joined the movement, and recruits were quickly made from Caistor and Horncastle, and then they determined to march to Lincoln and thence send a message of entreaty to the tyrant King.

Many motives urged them to appeal to him. They hated Cromwell and wished the King to get rid of him; they had heard that some of the village



ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, LOUTH, LINCOLNSHIRE

churches (not only monasteries) were to be destroyed ; and the gentry had a grievance of their own in the Statute of Uses, which would be difficult to explain to you, but it was resented by the gentry because it left their younger sons quite unprovided for.

These motives combined made up a substantial grievance ; but over and above all other reasons for the rebellion was the destruction of the beautiful religious houses scattered all over the land.

It being in the first place a religious movement, the Abbot of Barlings, an important monastery near Lincoln, was persuaded to head the rebellion.

The only leader at first was Melton, who had styled himself "Captain Cobbler." The abbot saw that, to have any effect, the rising required a more important leader, so he yielded against his better judgment.

And now an army of 100,000 men marched into Lincoln, headed by the Abbot of Barlings on horseback, in full armour ; six of his canons ; the Abbot of Kirkstead, and several monks ; with Dr. Kendall, vicar of Louth, besides Captain Cobbler, and the gentry of that part of the county, among whom rode Mr. Robert Aske from Yorkshire, who had joined them the night before.

They stayed in Lincoln some anxious days, waiting for the reply to their petition which had been sent to the King at Windsor. They were anxious, but still hopeful, as news came that Yorkshire had also risen to protest against the destruction of the monasteries.

But on the 12th of October they were summoned to the Castle Garth to hear the King's reply, which was brutal and cruel in the extreme.

All, except the leaders, were ordered to disperse, under fear of such punishment as only so cruel a King could invent. The leaders were detained in Lincoln during the King's pleasure.

The Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire was going on with more men of note to encourage it than had been the case in Lincolnshire. Robert Aske was really its leader, but with him were Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Lord D'Arcy, and the Archbishop of York, Dr. Edward Lee (who had succeeded Wolsey), and many of the nobles.

The King kept the gentlemen at Lincoln closely imprisoned. But he dealt more promptly with the common people. They were not tried, as in common justice they ought to have been, but were sought out where they dwelt and hanged there and then; seventy suffered in this manner.

But in January the King's pleasure as to the gentlemen was made known. Some were released and others detained, but the Abbot of Barlings as ring-leader, Dr. Kendall, vicar of Louth, and others were sent to the Tower.

In March Captain Cobbler and thirty-four others were hanged in one day. Among those who suffered at Lincoln was the Abbot of Kirkstead. In the same month the Abbot of Barlings, the vicar of Louth, and ten others suffered the death of traitors at Tyburn.

In Yorkshire the most cruel vengeance was taken by the King on the common people, and the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx were executed. Sir Robert Constable was hanged at Hull, and Mr.

Aske suffered the same death at York. Lord D'Arcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Lord Hussey, who had joined the rising, was beheaded outside his own house at Lincoln.

And now wrote Cromwell: "All the cankered hearts are weeded away."

This was the end of the Pilgrimage of Grace, just three quarters of a year after that October Monday at Louth when it was first begun.¹

¹ For a detailed account of the Pilgrimage of Grace, see the historical tale, *Like a Rasen Fiddler*, S.P.C.K.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BIBLE

AT first there seemed no result of the Pilgrimage of Grace, but in harsher measures and still more wanton destruction of the beautiful monasteries, for the King was not satisfied with dissolving the smaller religious houses in 1535-36, and soon the larger ones were doomed.

One after another they fell : St. Albans, Fountains, Bolton, Bardney, Glastonbury, Reading, Colchester—till none were left. Waltham Abbey, the last great house, surrendered on the 23rd of March 1540. A few colleges and hospitals surrendered later in the year.

The abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester were hanged on the charge of treason. But they were not tried ; or, rather, their fate was decided before their trial, which thus became a mere farce.

We might doubt the truth of this, but the notebook of Cromwell shows in his own handwriting the terrible fact.

There it can be seen how Hugh Faringdon, Abbot of Reading, was to be sent down to Reading to be tried and executed there ; and the Abbot of Glastonbury was to be tried and executed at Glastonbury.

In December the Abbot of Colchester was hanged

near his house ; but, before that date, the Abbot of Reading with two of his priests and the Abbot of Glastonbury, also with two monks, suffered on the same day.

Abbot Faringdon was hanged in his own gateway ; and Richard Whiting, the last Abbot of Glastonbury, was dragged on a hurdle to the Tor overlooking his monastery, and there hanged, and his head was afterwards placed over his own gateway for all to gaze at. Truly a tragic sight.

An Act of Parliament in 1541 suppressed the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. As the sad and troubled exiles came out of their house in Clerkenwell, the Prior fell down and died in the gateway, unable to outlive the agony of parting from all his soul held dear.

Henry made no secret of the disposal of the property of the monasteries. He appropriated to himself the greater part of the plunder. But his courtiers were also greatly enriched.

Cromwell had seven priories, and his nephew, Sir Richard (ancestor of another Cromwell of whom you will hear later), had also seven. New nobles were created by the King on the strength of the riches thus gained by sacrilege, and some of the older nobility had religious houses given to them because they were descendants of the original founders.

But the famous libraries of untold value were wrecked and despoiled. Books, whose worth was priceless, were sent to be sold on the Continent, or torn up and scattered, or used by the grocer to wrap his goods in. The beautiful church vestments were used

for bed-curtains and hangings, or made up into petticoats.

I am only telling you a fraction of the results of the King's unbounded avarice and sin. But something was saved from the wreck. An Act of Parliament was passed for the creation of six new bishoprics out of the same number of suppressed houses. These were: Oxford, Peterborough, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Westminster.

Five of these still remain; the Westminster diocese ended in 1550.

Let us see now what Cranmer was doing at this time.

We owe much to Archbishop Cranmer. He was a famous scholar, and was really in earnest in wishing for reformation in the Church. So, while Cromwell was assailing the Church from without, destroying the beautiful work of centuries under pretence of cleansing the Church, Cranmer sought rather to reform it from within, by bringing in light from the Scriptures upon dark places, and making the services and prayers so clear in the English language that all might understand.

Wyclif when at Lutterworth made a translation of the Bible into English. This was the first whole translation known in England, and it was written and often copied towards the end of the fourteenth century.

But in the reign of Henry VIII. other translations were made.

William Tindale, who had studied both at Oxford and Cambridge, and taken Holy Orders, was charged

with heresy. He had set his heart on translating the Bible into English. Finding no encouragement at home, he went to Luther at Wittenberg, and finally, with a runaway English friar named Roye, settled at Worms in Germany in order to translate the New Testament into English. He was a Greek scholar who could therefore have made a pure translation. But he became a convert to the views of Zwingli, and so his influence crept into the work, which is, however, not so corrupt as was originally thought.

Zwingli held very wrong views on the Sacraments and on the government of the Church, and Tindale's translation was to a certain extent influenced by these views. However, when it found its way into England many people welcomed it, but the King was not among them. He had no sympathy with the views of the German and Swiss Reformers, and condemned Tindale's version as unsound, and it was burnt at St. Paul's Cross (1530).

But Henry saw clearly the need of an English Bible, and in 1534 he promised Convocation that an authorized translation should be made. This resulted in 1536 in permission to use one made by Miles Coverdale, though not wholly approved by the King.

To Cranmer had been entrusted the task of providing a Bible which should satisfy Henry, and, in 1540, the "Great Bible" was published by authority and continued to be the only authorized version till 1611, when our present Authorized Version was published.

The Psalms in the Prayer Book and those in the Bible express the same sense in different words,

simply because the Psalms in the Prayer Book are taken from the "Great Bible" of 1540, and were in use seventy years before the present Authorized Version of the Bible was made.

It was not only in giving an English Bible to the Church that Cranmer under the King's direction made valuable reforms. The first alteration that was made in the Service Books was in 1535, when the name of the Pope was left out.

Other omissions and alterations continued to be made, and it must have been very puzzling to many people, until finally the Prayer Book and Services were settled nearly as we have them now. But that was not till some years later.

Meanwhile, Cranmer worked on at the task he loved and for which he was so well fitted. The beautiful collects of St. Leo and St. Gelasius which he translated or adapted to our use, and his own fine compositions, all testify to his learning and spiritual feeling.

Our English Litany, nearly in its present state, dates from 1544.

Henry was a shrewd judge of character and chose his servants with discretion. So that, while to Cromwell was entrusted the task of pulling down, he gave to Cranmer the better and happier work of building up and setting in order the details of Divine Service, Matins, and Evensong. Liturgy, as you know, is the office of Holy Communion.

Cromwell was raised to the peerage as Earl of Essex in 1539, and now seemed to have reached the height of his power and fame. But his fall was

coming. Faithless to his good and bad friends alike, the King cast them aside when he no longer needed them, or if they dared to cross his will.

In January 1540 Cromwell sought to unite the princes of north Germany with France against the Emperor, and with this in view brought about the marriage of King Henry with Anne of Cleves.

But the King did not like her, and was angry with Cromwell, who, he said, had deceived him. Six months later he ordered his arrest on the charge of treason. That very day, the 10th of June 1540, he was sent to the Tower.

Cranmer pleaded for him with the King, but in vain, and on the 28th of June Thomas Cromwell, the blacksmith's son, who had risen from his low estate to a place among the nobles of the land, who had been the King's right hand ever since the fall of Wolsey, who had ruled England and specially England's Church with a rod of iron, was beheaded on Tower Hill by order of his Royal and faithless master.

I think his sad story tells its own lesson without comment.

Reginald Pole only escaped the block by continuing in exile from England. But his mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury, was executed for no crime whatever, solely for being on the side of her son.

It is impossible to say how many did suffer death on one pretext or another during this terrible reign. Men and women who rejected the King's supremacy, and others who had professed Lutheran doctrines, or

had shown any leaning towards teaching which the King disapproved, were hanged or burnt or beheaded according to his will and pleasure.

But the end drew near. Early in 1547 he died. How far he repented of his sins it is not for us to judge. It becomes us more to dwell upon the good we owe to him, which is not a small debt.

In the first place he had set the Church free from the usurped authority of the Pope. In the second place he had provided an English Bible, and had begun the work of giving to the Church a Book of Services in our own language, so that all might understand.

And now the terrible reign is over, and we turn to that of his son, Edward VI.

But I must explain to you the real meaning of the word Protestant, for you will come across it often, and it is often misapplied.

It was first used at the Diet of Spires in Germany in 1529—when those who upheld Luther sent to the Emperor a *protest*; and from that circumstance the Lutheran party were styled *Protestants*.

Now, in one sense, whoever makes a protest against any person or thing is a protestant—that is, one who protests. In this sense those men who took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace were protestants, because they protested against the dissolution of the monasteries and the robbery of Church property. But they were not at all Protestants in the sense in which the word has come to be used.

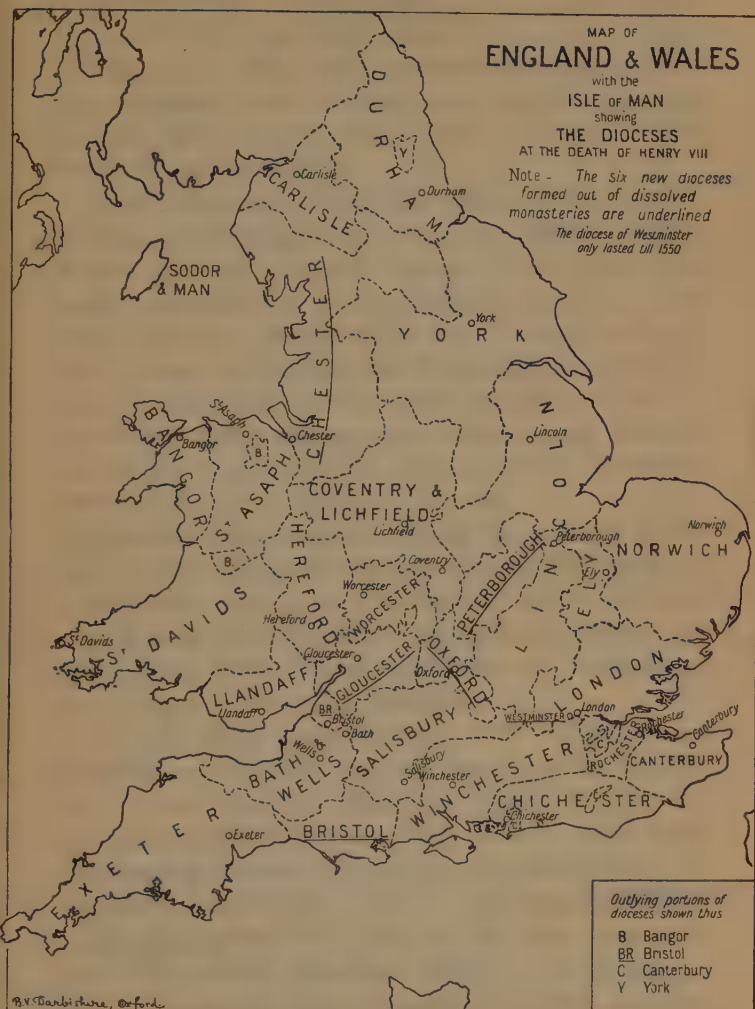
You may have heard ignorant people say that the English were all Roman Catholics before the Refor-

MAP OF ENGLAND & WALES

with the
ISLE of MAN
showing

THE DIOCESES
AT THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII

Note - The six new dioceses
formed out of dissolved
monasteries are underlined
The diocese of Westminster
only lasted till 1550



mation and Protestants afterwards. Now, this needs to be corrected. The English Church, the *Ecclesia Anglorum* of Alfred's time, and the time of Magna Charta and all down the centuries from the days of St. Augustine, was Catholic and is Catholic still, else why do we say in the Creed : "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" ?

True, in course of time, the Pope had got such a footing in England that English Church people looked upon him as their spiritual Head, and thus might be considered Roman Catholics, but they were never wholly in subjection to him. You have read this History to little purpose if you do not remember how St. Dunstan in the ninth century, Grossetête in the thirteenth century, and many others rejected the Pope's encroachments and struggled to uphold the freedom of our National Church.

You have read too how, finally, the yoke of Rome was thrown off and the English Church became free.

But there were some who did not desire to break with Rome, and they were called Romanensians or Romanists, while those who were the reforming party began to be called Protestants.

At first, both Romanensians and Protestants in England worshipped in the same parish church. But at the council of Trent in Austria in 1545-63 the Roman Church made many decrees about faith and worship which deepened the difference from the English Prayer Book. And in 1562 the Romanists in England were forbidden by the Pope to attend their own parish churches. They, in consequence, made themselves into a separate body, and became

known as Roman Catholics. Then, for a time, those who rejected the Pope's authority, although they were also Catholics, were called Protestants to distinguish them from the Romanists, who were also Catholics.

The word Protestant is now often used to describe people who object to ritual and musical services and primitive Christian doctrine, but that is not its first and real meaning. Its real meaning is one who is not a papist.

It may be as well to remember in this place that the modern Roman Catholic is bound to believe differently from the Romanist who was forbidden by the Pope to worship in his parish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth. For, besides the changes made at Trent, the Pope in the nineteenth century made other decrees which all Romanists are obliged to accept, but which are quite contrary to the teaching of the English Church.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH UNDER EDWARD VI.

WHEN Edward VI., a boy of ten, ascended the throne, there were two parties in the Church. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, were on the Catholic side. They wished for reform, and had accepted the decision of Henry VIII. as to the Pope, but they were not Lutherans or Calvinists or Zwinglians. They held the Faith handed down to them, and, though willing to accept certain reforms, they were against wholesale alterations in practice.

Of those on the Protestant side the principal were: Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Ridley, Bishop of London; and Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. These were all inclined to the views of foreign Reformers and almost ready to form a new Church, instead of cleansing the old.

For we must remember that through all its reverses, its changes, and distresses, the Church never lost its own individual character.

A garden, once beautiful, in course of time may have become overrun with weeds. When these have been cleared away it is none the less your

garden. It is the same garden cleansed and cleared of the growth of time. So the English Church was the same Church, though purified and cleansed.

Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, was a great preacher. He had fine courage, and had dared on one occasion to rebuke King Henry himself in some very strong words.

Ridley upheld the views of Calvin, but not to so great an extent as Calvin himself. Hooper was scarcely a Churchman at all, for he would not conform to her rule or ritual. For this reason he is called "the father of Nonconformity."

This simply means the position of those who do not conform to what the Church orders and which loyal Churchmen obey.

The Nonconformists were at first a party within the Church, not wishing to separate from her, but refusing to obey her laws. In course of time they went so far as to wish to do away with bishops and govern themselves. So then they left the Church, and as they dissented from her views they were called dissenters. But still they chose to be married and buried by the Church's ministers, and even sometimes baptized at the Church font, so strong was the Church's hold even on her disobedient children.

You remember in the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) wished to bring the whole Church everywhere under one supreme Head, so that there might be always one person who could decide difficult cases and form—as it is called—a final court of appeal. But it could not be done, nor would it

have been good for the Church. Still, we can see how, as soon as the authority of the Pope was thrown off, people began to think and decide for themselves, instead of obeying the Church or even one who professed to know better. Thus various sects sprang up; and these sects, not satisfying all who joined them, were again split up into other sects, till at the present time their number is legion and their beliefs likewise.

At the head of the reforming party was Archbishop Cranmer. He was a gentle, amiable man, with little strength of will. He was not honest in the matter of the divorce of Queen Katharine, and he agreed with the King on other matters which he knew to be wrong, but which he lacked boldness to dispute. In fact, he became the slave of his tyrant-master.

But when that master was dead it might have been hoped he would rise above his fears and act according to his conscience, for he was a man of real religious principle, and must, therefore, have been always uneasy, because he was constantly yielding where he knew he ought to have stood firm.

On the death of Henry VIII. the Duke of Somerset made himself Protector, and this was an act fraught with misfortune to the English Church.

Once in power his greed knew no bounds. He wished to build himself a palace, and so he took to his own use the emoluments of Reading Abbey, and had the audacity to seize Westminster Abbey in order to destroy it and with the materials build his palace. The dean and chapter, to save their lovely abbey, bought him off and gave him twenty of their manors.

Then he laid hands upon the daughter church of St. Margaret, but here the parishioners rebelled and greeted the Protector's workmen with a shower of stones.

Then he turned to the Strand and pulled down the houses of the Bishops of Lichfield, Worcester, and Llandaff, and the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, in order to clear a site for his palace, known in our own day as Somerset House. Next he destroyed the church of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell and some chapels belonging to St. Paul's, in order to get building materials.

Glastonbury, that early seat of British Christianity, he turned into a worsted factory for some French Protestants. The College of St. Martin-le-Grand he turned into a tavern, and made a House of Parliament of the Chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster. And at his first Council he did away with the power of the Church to order and regulate its affairs, but put them all under the control of the State, through the Privy Council.

There is a long word—*Erastianism*—which often occurs in our own day, and means the putting of the control of Church matters into the hands of the State, contrary to all use and precedent in primitive times. We must remember this.

At the first Council of Edward's reign, in July 1547, a book of Homilies (or Sermons) by Cranmer, Protestant in tone, was ordered to be published, and in the following month they ordered a visitation of all the dioceses in England, and, while it lasted, none of the bishops could discharge their official duties. They also issued orders

called Injunctions, which commanded the destruction of pictures on walls or in windows of churches and all lights except the two before the Sacrament.

Thus began that dreadful robbery of parish churches, which is a lasting disgrace to the reign of the boy-king.

Not that he was to blame; for he was but a child, and under the power, first, of the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards of the Duke of Northumberland—the former his uncle, and both most ambitious men.

They were entirely self-seeking. Now, Cranmer was not self-seeking; he did not seek in any way to advance himself or his interests; he did wrong by yielding, through moral cowardice, to the will of those who ruled the country, and so we do not find that he lifted up his voice and authority against it.

You remember that in olden times many of the churches had been built by wealthy landowners, but also in many cases the churches were built and furnished by the parishioners themselves, and so it was natural that pride in the parish church should be a very strong feeling, and we cannot wonder that the fear of robbery of the cross and jewels in Louth Church had stirred up the people to resent the sacrilege they dreaded, and ended in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The churchwardens held all the property of the parish churches in trust for the parish. That is to say, they guarded it and were responsible for its safe keeping.

And this property was, in many cases, of a valuable

kind. Organs, crosses, altar vessels of gold and silver, candlesticks, banners, vestments, fine linen, sweet-toned bells, and beautifully illuminated service books.

But now, in his desire to enrich himself or the King, the Protector had issued these Injunctions, and a clean sweep was made of all that went to beautify the place of the sanctuary, and when the stained windows were broken up and replaced by common glass, the frescoed walls covered with whitewash, then in many cases, especially in villages, the lead was stripped off the roofs and replaced by thatch.

Edward VI. reigned only six years, but all that time the work of destruction went on, and Cranmer made no sign.

But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, did speak out, and was sent to prison; while Bonner, Bishop of London, who objected to the visitation of the dioceses, was also imprisoned.

This visitation of the dioceses was contrary to all law and order.

The Bishops Gardiner and Bonner were set free at the end of the session of 1547. Next Whitsuntide the Council ordered Gardiner to preach on certain subjects which his conscience could not approve. He therefore refused, and was sent to prison for the rest of the reign.

In the year 1549 the first Act of Uniformity was passed to ensure the use of the English Prayer Book, now first published.

But the subject of the Prayer Book is one of importance so great, it must have a chapter to itself.

The reign of Edward VI. was a terrible time of

anarchy and unrest. The word anarchy (from *an*—without—and *archè*—government) really means the state of a country where there is no rule. So it was now. England had suffered from tyranny—the abuse of rule—in the time of Henry VIII., but now it suffered equally from no rule at all. It was a time when “every man did that which was right in his own eyes,” at least, a man with power, and the consequence was dire confusion.

Somerset was succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland, whose schemes for the succession to the throne filled his mind. Cranmer let him go his own way, and even when the King was dying gave his sanction to the passing over of the King’s sisters, settling the crown on his cousin, Lady Jane Grey.

This was literally giving away the nation, and we must ever regret that Cranmer had a part in the shameful deed.

Edward VI. has been often praised as a staunch upholder of the Reformation, and as a benefactor, especially in the matter of schools.

He was a Protestant certainly, but how far he realized the state of spiritual affairs it is difficult to say. As to his charities, they are briefly told.

Christ’s Hospital in Newgate Street, often called The Blue Coat School, is said to have been founded by Edward VI. This was not the case. At the Dissolution Henry VIII. granted the monastery of Grey Friars to the Corporation of the City of London. Edward VI. converted it into a school for poor children, but it was endowed—not by the King—but by private subscriptions and gifts.

This was also the case with St. Thomas' Hospital, an old foundation, and though he gave his palace of Bridewell as a House of Correction for the poor, and partly endowed it with money taken from the Savoy Hospital, founded by Henry VII., the citizens of London had really to pay for it, though he gave it to them.

Many of the so-called King Edward's Grammar Schools were the results of the confiscation of chantries and guilds under new government and a new name.

The boy-king stands out from the background of evil deeds and tumult and unrest, a pathetic figure—the sport of his guardians' schemes. His troubled life ended in 1553.

CHAPTER X

THE ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

THE great work of the reign of Edward VI. was the English Prayer Book of 1549.

It was a most necessary work. While everything in the Church was so unsettled, old customs and forms uprooted and no others yet fixed to take their place, there must have been great confusion especially in the minds of the unlearned, and no wonder that Cranmer was anxious to bring forward a settled Form of Prayer which all might use and understand.

For this purpose there were assembled at Windsor thirteen learned divines with Cranmer at their head, all fully equal to their task. Their object was to retain all that was primitive and Catholic, excluding the superstitious element which had crept into the services of the Church in mediaeval days.

It was a labour of time, and parts were published before the whole was finished ; and the first to appear was: "*The order of the Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.*"

This, naturally, appeared first, as the one most important service of all—the one to which the word Liturgy was applied—taking rank above all other offices, because of its most Holy Nature.

Then in June 1549 appeared the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

It was not a new composition, but rather a compilation of services always in use in the English Church, arranged and adapted in the mother-tongue to the growing needs of the times. Times change and customs change with them, but in our Prayer Book is embodied all that was best in the ancient books, and the life in it is that which breathed in the prayers of the early British and English Christians fifteen hundred years ago and more, and farther back still when the earliest Liturgies were in use. Not only have we the life and the spirit, but sometimes the very words as well.

When St. Augustine came to England on his mission, you remember, he found that the British Christians had a liturgy the same as that of Gaul, but different from that of Rome. Pope Gregory told him to take from each liturgy what he thought most suitable and thus make a new liturgy for the English Church.

The Celtic missionaries in the north, of whom St. Columba was chief, brought another element into the services, so that they differed in different places, and were called "Uses."

The "Use of Sarum" drawn up by St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1085, was in use in the greater part of the southern province—that of Canterbury. In the northern province there was the "York Use"; and yet again there were the "Uses of Bangor and Hereford," which no doubt showed some influence of the old British Church in Wales. There was

also the "Use of Lincoln," with others of less importance.

Now all these "Uses," though differing in minor points, were very similar, and the books belonging to them were called the Latin Service Books, and were four—

(i) *The Breviary*, containing the Calendar and Rubrical directions, the Psalms, Hymns, Antiphons, Collects, Lections, etc., to be said at the several hours of prayer.

(ii) *The Missal*, containing its own Calendar, Rubrics and ritual directions, the part of the Order of the Communion Service or "Mass" which never changed, with the Introits, Collects, Epistles, Gospels, etc., for various seasons of the ecclesiastical year.

(iii) *The Manual*, containing the Baptismal Service, and the "Occasional Services."

(iv) *The Pontifical*, containing the Ordination Service.

There are a few words here which need explanation. "*Rubrical directions*" are directions once printed in red letters. Hence the word Rubric now means any directions in the Prayer Book whether printed in black or red.

As to Red Letter days and Black Letter saints—the saints whose names were in red are those famous saints whom we commemorate on special days. Before the Reformation the Calendar was much fuller of Saints than it is now, and it was thought advisable to reduce the number of days, so as only to have the scriptural saints or others of very special note. Some of the non-scriptural saints were omitted. In

some cases this is to be regretted, but no doubt the Reformers found the garden of the saints very difficult to weed. The practice of invoking (or praying to) the saints had grown to a dangerous extent, and it was necessary to check it, and when thirteen people are correcting and revising—one suggesting one thing and one another—it follows that some things are cut out which might well have been retained. The wonder is that in such a time of difficulty and confusion the work was done so well. The saints' days (*holy* days originally) had become so many holidays for the people, and it was thought well to reduce them for this reason as well as for others.

*Lectio*ns are readings. You know that the desk in church from which the lessons are read is called a lectern; and the table of lessons is called the lectionary (Latin : *lectio, lego, lectum*=to read).

Introit is the psalm sung by the choir as the priests are entering the sanctuary.

Antiphon is a hymn, or psalm, or anthem sung alternately by the choir.

In a Cathedral service the singing is called antiphonal, because sung in turn by the choristers on the *decani*, or those on the dean's side, and by the *cantoris*, or the side of the precentor.

These Service Books—the Breviary, the Missal, the Manual, and the Pontifical—were all very long, and so crowded with directions that each one of them, except the Manual, was longer than the whole of our present Prayer Book.

It was no ordinary task, this, of simplifying the

various services and bringing them all into one book—a very difficult matter to choose the best out of such an abundance and to put aside what seemed to be unnecessary, and to return to primitive usage and customs; above all, to cleanse away false and superstitious teaching and offer to Church people a guide as free from error as possible.

That the work was undertaken with prayer to the Holy Spirit for light and guidance we may be quite sure; and we may be equally sure that where they were gathered together in the name of Our Lord for the purpose of helping and enlightening His people, there was He “in the midst of them.”

It is necessary at all times, and especially at a time of upheaval like that of the Reformation, to remember that no two minds are exactly alike, and that what appeals to one often cannot touch another with any force at all. And in matters of religion and ritual—ritual meaning the rules or rites of religion—people think differently according to the bent of their minds.

Luther was a man of sociable nature, enjoying life and home pleasures, and he took his religion in the same way after he threw off his friar's hood. His views of religion were more cheerful than those of Calvin, who was by nature a hard, stern man, and, to our mind, cruel in some of his views.

Zwingli was fond of argument. He was not content with Our Lord's own words when He instituted the Blessed Sacrament, but he pried into the meaning of this great mystery till he took from it all spiritual meaning and reduced it to a plain Memorial Service.

Yet these three men, we may believe, acted according to their conscience. We may think that Luther was wrong in founding a new Church which was not Apostolic or Catholic; we may have no sympathy with Calvin in his calm satisfaction in the punishment of others who did not agree with him; and we may devoutly wish that Zwingli had had more faith in dealing with the deep things of God which it is not given to man to understand; but we must not judge or condemn. We only see a part; God sees all.

So with the Nonconformists. We may regret very much that they have separated themselves from the Church; but if they have done it for conscience' sake we must remember that a man's conscience is a sacred thing, and respect it.

So, instead of harshly judging, let us remember how the great Apostle said out of his strong, true heart: "Grace be with all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Early in January 1549 the Prayer Book being completed, Parliament was asked to make it the only legal service book in England, and that those who disobeyed the order should be punished.

Thus was passed the first Act of Uniformity, by which the leaders of the Church fondly thought they could make all people in England of one mind.

The Act provided that after Whitsunday 1549 every clergyman was "to use the new Prayer Book and none other, under the penalty of fine, deprivation, and eventually imprisonment"; and that was considered to settle the matter.

Since the Synod of Whitby in 664, when Celtic use

and Roman use were brought forward to be decided, and Wilfrid settled the question of the keeping of Easter, of consecration and the minor point of the tonsure according to the Custom of Rome; no such important event had taken place in the English Church as the publication of the Prayer Book of 1549. But it did not satisfy every one. How could it, when there were so many different influences abroad?

We may mention here that in 1549 the Church Catechism ended with the explanation of the Lord's Prayer.

The Prayer Book had scarcely had a full trial when discontent arose. But first a new Ordinal was published in 1550, but in their anxiety for simplicity the revisers sacrificed so much that was venerable and of use, that Heath, Bishop of Worcester, refused to subscribe to it, and was therefore imprisoned.

Then Ridley, who was now Bishop of London in place of Bonner, deprived and imprisoned, ordered his clergy to remove all altars from their churches, and place in their stead wooden tables that could be moved, instead of remaining always at the east end. On St. Barnabas Day the altar in St. Paul's was pulled down and destroyed in his presence.

Day, Bishop of Chichester, stood firm against this desecration and was imprisoned.

Towards the end of Edward's reign there were five bishops in prison. Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall, the aged Bishop of Durham. He had been for some time a prisoner in his own house, but allowed to walk about the fields. Later he was sent to the Tower.

In the year 1548, Martin Bucer of Strasburg, who wished to be in agreement with the Swiss on matters of doctrine, had been made Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; and Peter Martyr of Basel was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford and tried hard to bring over the Universities to his views.

It was this foreign reforming element in England which promoted discontent with the Prayer Book; and Cranmer, assisted by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Ely, set to work to revise it before it had had time to make its way.

Peter Martyr and Bucer helped with their criticisms, and in 1552 a second Act of Uniformity was passed, and this second Prayer Book was ordered to be used from All Saints' Day next. This Act not only ordered the new book to be used, but it compelled all the laity to be present at the services.

John Knox, a Scotch Reformer of the most violent type, had preached strongly against the practice of kneeling to receive the Holy Communion. Hitherto communicants had knelt as a matter of course at this most solemn time, though no Rubric ordered it. Now one was made, forbidding the custom.

The second Prayer Book changed very much that was enjoined in the first, but we are told that it "never had the slightest claim to ecclesiastical authority, and cannot even plead acceptance by the Church, for it was only in force about eight months, and probably was never used at all in many parts of England."¹

In the reign of Edward VI. the clergy were permitted to marry; in the olden days, you remember,

¹ Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*.

this was not the case ; and now the laity were allowed to receive the Holy Communion in both kinds. For a long time the Cup had been for the priests alone.

The second Prayer Book was published in 1552. In the next year King Edward died ; and everything was again upset on the accession of his sister Mary in 1553.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH UNDER MARY TUDOR

THE name of Mary Tudor has been handed down to us as that of a person too cruel for pardon ; but we must consider her nature, her life, and her sorrows.

Her nature was one of deep affection and devotion, and it must have been cruelly outraged by the treatment of her mother, the sinned-against Katharine of Aragon. She, herself, was degraded and set at nought, and that must have been bad enough, but it was infinitely worse to see her mother so shamefully used, and Mary must have suffered tortures in her young and loving spirit through the anguish of her mother.

Then how she must have loathed having to appear at Court where Anne had taken her mother's place as queen. We could not wonder if her heart had been full of bitterness, or if she had hated the little girl Elizabeth, her half-sister, who had taken her rightful place.

But in the State Papers of the time we find a petition from Mary on behalf of the little child, begging Cromwell that she might have better food and more attendants, as befitted the daughter of a king. This does not look like bitterness, but as real

affection and unselfish care for her little sister's comfort.

And she was fond of her brother, Edward VI. He must have returned her affection; for, whereas he was extremely strict in enforcing the services and doctrines of the reformed religion, he allowed Mary to have Mass in Latin and to do otherwise as she liked, which shows that in that one respect his heart was better than his narrow creed.

The attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne failed, as we all know, and after nine days Mary was received as rightly queen, and the feeling of the nation showed itself in joy and hope for better days.

The Church policy of Edward VI. had been distasteful to most Englishmen. They were not specially interested in the doctrines set forth by the Reformers, but the greater number wished to keep free from the Pope, as from the interference of a foreign bishop; though they were rapidly coming under the power of another influence—that of the foreign Reformers.

But all felt the discomfort and uncertainty caused by the changing of the Church Services. They felt sympathy with Mary, who had suffered cruelly from the writings of the most extreme of the Reformers, who had turned into ridicule all that she held in the deepest reverence, and at first it really seemed that she meant to act with moderation and kindness.

One of her first acts was to set free the imprisoned bishops and restore them to their sees. Of course, those bishops who had usurped their places were

thrust out, which they naturally thought a hard measure, but it could not be avoided.

At the same time, the foreign Reformers, together with a great number of the English married clergy, fled to the Continent to avoid the charge of heresy.

Cranmer could easily have secured his safety in this way, but here he proved himself no coward. He advised others to go, but when they urged him also to flee he stood firm. We are told that he said: "It would be in no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was; and to show that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign."¹

We should remember this to Cranmer's credit, when we are inclined to judge him harshly as wanting in courage in the face of danger.

And danger there was, for Mary considered as heresy all that was opposed to the teaching of the Church of Rome. She was in no sense an English Catholic. But when first proclaimed she had told the people she would not disturb their religion.

She did not keep this promise; and indeed she went quite contrary to it. That she overturned all that had been done in her brother's reign was seen in her first Parliament, when it was agreed that the Church Service should be the same as it was in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII.

Mary was half a Spaniard. Her mother was Spanish, and her cousin, the Emperor Charles v., had been Mary's adviser and counsellor in her troubled life.

¹ Froude's *History of England*.

Spain was entirely devoted to the Church of Rome, and there heresy was considered an unpardonable sin; and we are told that Charles "thought it actually wrong to keep faith with heretics."

This throws some light upon Mary's conduct in her treatment of them.

What a cloud had fallen over "Merrie England" during the past years of cruelty and unrest!

Everywhere the eye was outraged by the sight of ruined abbeys, roofless churches, shattered windows, stately pillars broken and defaced; and as yet the soothing hand of Time had not clothed the fractures and defacements with ivy and moss, and softened the terribly broken outlines with a veil from Nature's bounteous hand.

Not all the abbeys are in our days clothed with beauty. Many have disappeared altogether; only rough mounds mark the site of what was once a famous religious house. But in 1553 their condition was bad enough. Even when Mary spoke of restoring the monasteries, those who remembered them even twenty years before knew they could never be restored; the destruction had been too complete.

And in the whitewashed churches where the Royal Arms filled the place of the Holy Rood on those screens that were left, the old services seemed out of keeping with the poor surroundings. Sadness and regret filled the hearts of the thoughtful, and a reckless spirit possessed the many who could see very little real religion in all these changes and perplexing acts.

Archbishop Cranmer had on one occasion entreated Henry to save the Princess Mary when her life was in danger. But otherwise he had always been her enemy. He had given sentence of divorce against her mother, he had placed his name to the Act of Succession which had excluded her from the throne, and he was entirely opposed to her in matters of religion. We can scarcely wonder that as soon after her accession as possible she deprived him of his see.

He was brought before Parliament as a traitor, and found guilty. The charge could not be considered unfounded, for he had consented to the succession of Lady Jane Grey, but Mary spared his life, only to have him accused of heresy soon afterwards.

Gardiner, restored to the bishopric of Winchester, was now at the head of Church affairs, as the archbishopric of Canterbury was not filled up till 1556.

In July 1554 Mary married her cousin, Philip of Spain.

The marriage was most distasteful to the English people. Spain was a powerful nation, and they did not wish our independent little island to be in subjection to it, and also they knew Philip would do his best to bring it into the hands of the Pope. He brought several Spanish priests with him, one of whom was appointed to Peter Martyr's post at Oxford.

Later in 1554, in November, Mary prepared her people for the coming of the Pope's legate—her cousin, Cardinal Pole. He was not so extreme as

were some of the Papists. Mary was devoted to him, and he had always been her friend. The statute of *præmunire* seems to have been disregarded in his case, for you remember that Wolsey fell into disgrace for breaking it. But it was truly a lawless time.

However, when the legate came, he brought a Bull from the Pope by which those laymen in possession of Church property had their rights secured to them, so they at least hoped no harm would be done by the Pope's interference.

But now the dreadful statute of Henry IV. in 1406—*De Hæretico Comburendo*—(for the burning of heretics) was revived.

You remember it was first put in force against the Lollards, who were Reformers a century and a half before Mary's day. And then the Pope reconciled England to himself and thus asserted his right to rule her in Church matters.

Then in 1555 began what are called the Marian persecutions. You may have read of the burning of John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester. Gardiner tried hard to spare Hooper, but he stood firm. He had been the most extreme of the Reformers, and his consecration as bishop had been delayed because he would not wear the robes ordered on such an occasion. He was not a man to count his life dear to him; he could not go against his conscience; so he was truly a martyr, and suffered a martyr's death in his Cathedral town.

Dr. Rowland Taylor of Hadleigh in Suffolk was

another victim, and John Bradford, who had been chaplain to Bishop Ridley. Dr. Taylor was burnt in the village where he had worked for the good of his people, and Bradford suffered at Smithfield. For now once more were those terrible fires kindled which have made the name of the once "smooth field" a word of horror and disgrace.

Gardiner had such a distaste for these awful persecutions that he would no longer be Chairman of the Commission which ordered them. At his death Bonner, Bishop of London, took his place; he was not personally cruel, but the stigma of his office has clung to him, and perhaps we cannot wonder that this should be the case.

Some assert that the State and not the Church was to blame for these persecutions. But though the House of Commons had revived the shameful law against heretics, we do not find that officers of the State any more than officers of the Church were willing to carry out these atrocities. It was the Queen who insisted upon being obeyed.

Most of the sufferers were of the lower and middle classes, and fifty-five of them were women. In London one hundred and twenty-eight suffered; in the diocese of Canterbury fifty-five; in that of Norwich forty-six.

The next bishop to suffer after Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, who met his death with great courage at Caermarthen.

Cranmer was chief of the reforming party in the Church, by virtue of his position as Archbishop, Primate of all England; and we remember that at

the accession of Edward VI. the principal bishops on his side were Ridley and Latimer.

The three were very different men. Cranmer's gentle yielding character, wanting in moral courage and will, we already know; and Latimer has come before us as a great preacher who had the boldness to confront even Henry himself. Ridley was so strong in his own opinions that, had his power been as strong as his will, he would have overturned the whole system of the Church and created a new one after the fashion of Luther.

But, though different in character, they were all religious men, who would die sooner than be false to conscience; and this Cranmer plainly showed at the last, in spite of six recantations which were wrung from him by Mary's Spanish priests.

On the 16th of October 1555 Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford "at the ditch over against Balliol College," but Cranmer was kept in prison till the 21st of March 1556, and it was during that time, we are told, that the Spanish priests plied him with reasons for being false to what he believed to be true.

Imprisonment and sorrow and distress which we can hardly understand had told upon him, and he gave in, against his conscience. But he bitterly repented.

The spirit which had kept him firm to his post when so many priests fled the country on Mary's accession was not quenched; it revived at the supreme moment of his suffering, when tied to the stake he held forth his right hand and, thrusting it

into the flames, held it there, saying: "This hand hath offended; this hand hath offended," till it was consumed.

He was burnt at Oxford on the spot where Ridley and Latimer had suffered five months before; and before his execution he exhorted those who heard him to live together in love, in similar words to those of his own Collect for Quinquagesima Sunday—that prayer for charity, without which "whosoever liveth is counted dead before" God.

We ought never to forget Cranmer and the good he did for us through his desire for the whole Bible to be in every church; in his own Collects, and in his translation of others, and in his arrangement of the Prayer Book in spite of all difficulties in a sorely troubled time.

Reginald Pole was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1556. He was a persecutor, almost as much as the Queen, but, like Mary herself, and even the Pope, he believed that in all these cruelties he was but doing God service.

On the 17th of November 1558 the miserable Queen died, and on the same day died her faithful friend of a lifetime—Cardinal Pole.

It had been a short reign, but a most terrible one, this reign of the first Roman Catholic sovereign of England. Henceforth among the greater number of English Churchmen the burnings at Smithfield had made the name of the Pope detested, and his power in England was at an end.

Who can wonder that for many years to come the seventeenth day of November was marked as a day

of thanksgiving, when we remember all that had gone before? The nation must have breathed again after those awful years.

The last Pope who had anything to do with our National Church of England was Paul IV.

CHAPTER XII

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CHURCH VIEWS

IT has been customary to speak of "Good Queen Bess," but it is doubtful whether she really deserved the title "good" as a woman, though certainly as a ruler under whom England reached a high degree of prosperity she may be called "good." But she was not religious.

Now her sister Mary was religious, and it was the wrong spirit of her religion—that belief that Rome must be right and all those wrong who opposed the Pope—which made her so merciless; that and her Spanish nature together.

But Elizabeth had no real love for religion. She was double-faced, very vain, and open to flattery, narrow-minded, and very fond of money. The burning questions on Church matters, which were filling the minds of so many, seemed to glide off her worldly mind without affecting her in the least.

But she had an iron will; and though she would change many times before making up her mind, when she had once done so, no one could turn her from it. She had, together with her father's passionate nature, his shrewd judgment of character, so that she

generally chose her counsellors with wisdom, and knew how far to yield to them and when to hold her own.

She was thoroughly English. Her narrow-mindedness, which made her take little interest in other nations, made her study her countrymen so thoroughly that she understood exactly how far to go in her dealings with them. She had, therefore, great prudence and caution. Added to all this, though she attracted people towards her who feared her and yet were devoted to her, she was not a lovable person, nor had she the great gift of sympathy. She was jealous of her dignity and of the regard of those around her.

But she was very learned. Her tutor had been the good Roger Ascham, who found her an excellent pupil. She was both a Greek and Latin scholar, knew French and Italian, and in fact had had an education of the first order.

It was this clever, cold, shrewd, wonderful woman who came to the throne at the age of twenty-five on the 17th of November 1558, and who ruled England in masterly fashion for five-and-forty years.

But those who rejoiced that Mary's reign was over were mistaken if they thought Elizabeth would go as far in the opposite direction as her brother Edward VI., or at once set everything to rights.

The persecutions in Mary's reign had failed to convince people that the Pope was right and ought to rule the English Church. On the contrary, the persecution had defeated its own ends. Then those

Protestants who had fled abroad had learnt from foreign teachers at Zurich, Frankfort, and Strasburg opinions quite opposed to the teaching of the Church of England—the Church which Augustine had founded, and which Theodore and Wilfrid had moulded into strength and ordered grace.

Had the strong Queen upheld these foreign teachers our National Church would have existed no longer. It would have given place to a new foundation, neither Catholic nor Apostolic, but a sect, or at any rate an entirely new Church.

Her Secretary of State, Cecil, Lord of Burghley, was opposed to the extreme Romanists, but not devoted to the opposite party. He held a middle course between the two. Elizabeth, seeing what some of the people most feared, quieted them by forbidding any alteration in the Latin services till after the meeting of Parliament; and on the 23rd of November when she went on her Royal progress from Hatfield to London, she set at rest the fears of those who dreaded a repetition of the sorrows of the reign just closed.

Gardiner and Day were dead, and in England there were only sixteen bishops left, but they all went out to meet her, and we can imagine how Bonner, Bishop of London, felt when, as he kneeled to kiss her hand, she turned away, thus showing what she thought of his part in the late cruelties.

All the other fifteen bishops were allowed the privilege denied to Bonner.

She showed that she did not intend to make any

hasty changes, and all the bishops (including Bonner) might have kept their sees had they been able to take the oath under the Supremacy Act. This they could not conscientiously do, and before a year was over they were all deprived.

It seemed, at first, as if there would be no one to crown the Queen. The see of Canterbury was vacant, and the Archbishop of York had the courage to refuse, on account of the oath which he could not take. Finally the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Oglethorpe, consented to perform the ceremony.

When Parliament met, on the 25th of January 1559, the first Act passed was the Act of Supremacy, by which the Queen, at her own wish, was called Supreme Governor instead of Supreme Head.

But the bishops looked upon this as a defiance of the Pope, and would not accept the explanation that it only showed that she was supreme in England in all affairs of Church or State.

Then came the Act of Uniformity, which restored the use of the English Prayer Book and compelled all the laity to be present at the services. Those who did not attend were called *recusants*; those who attended other than the enforced services were called *separatists*, and both were severely punished. Other measures became law which showed that the Queen, like her father and brother, was not averse to sacrilege.

The first-fruits of benefices claimed by Henry VIII. had been rightly restored by Mary to the Church. These were again claimed by the Crown. The money belonging to vacant bishoprics was demanded

by the Queen, who often during her reign kept sees vacant in order to enrich herself.

Queen Mary had restored property to the religious orders, but it now went back to the Crown, and Elizabeth laid hands on the lands as well as money of any vacant bishopric.

As to the arrangements for Divine Service, there seemed great confusion. All preaching was forbidden till ecclesiastical affairs were more settled. The Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Epistle and Gospel were to be in English, but the Latin Mass was retained.

Then, in June, Elizabeth established a Court of High Commission or Court of Justice to inquire into ecclesiastical affairs, and a general visitation of churches began.

And now the bishops who refused to take the oath of Supremacy were deprived. They all refused to take it except Bishop Kitchen of Llandaff.

They had time given them to consider the matter, or rather reconsider it. But, as they all stood firm, the sentence took effect, and they left their sees. Some of the other bishops who had returned to England and others of the clergy took them into their houses, and cared for them in their need.

And now the subject of the English Liturgy was brought forward; and a committee of learned divines was chosen to consider upon it.

Among these divines was Matthew Parker, Dean of Lincoln and Archbishop-elect of Canterbury. He had been chosen for this high office by Elizabeth's

two counsellors, Lord Burleigh and Sir Nicholas Bacon, and probably by the Queen herself. Parker, Cecil, and Bacon had all been at Cambridge together, and the choice of Parker for the archbishopric was excellent.

He was just the man for the time—fitted in every way to steer the Ark of Christ's Church through the waves of this troublesome world, when it was in a very narrow channel, beset with rocks and quicksands and many seen and unseen dangers.

He was chosen for the difficult task of arranging the services because he had not only studied ecclesiastical questions, but he had a well-ordered mind, and was not likely to be carried away into extremes. In his own words he wished "that that most holy and godly form of discipline which was commonly used in the primitive Church might be called home again."

The Commission appointed to consider the services of the Church had a strong Protestant element, for several of the exiles of Mary's reign were on it. Grindal was one. But Dr. Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was also on the Commission; he had always been true to his Church principles, and when at Frankfort had upheld the English Church Liturgy against all the furious attacks of John Knox. Knowing this, we may feel quite sure of his fitness to act on the Commission.

The Queen wished to keep to the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. So did Parker. But there were so many on the Commission who held Protestant views, all could not agree to this. These who

were all in favour of what they called a "pure" worship without ornaments, vestments, or ceremonies, began now to be called Puritans in consequence.

At last Parker persuaded Elizabeth to take the Prayer Book of 1552, and to work upon it. The result was, on the whole, good. The title of Head of the Church gave way to that of Supreme Governor, the vestments were restored, the Petition against the Pope was left out. This had occurred in the Litany and was as follows:—

"From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

No wonder right-minded men objected to these offensive words.

You remember that kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion had been forbidden in the Prayer Book of 1552, owing greatly to the influence of the preaching of John Knox. The order against kneeling was now struck out, and, above all, the real doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament was restored.

I have told you how controversy had always been hottest with regard to the highest service of all—the Holy Communion. There is a fresh proof of this in the fact that three times the words of administration were altered by the Reformers. In the Prayer Book of 1549, following the old practice, only the first clause was used. In 1552 these words were struck out, and only the second clause was used. But in the Prayer Book of 1549 both were united.¹

So altered, the English Prayer Book was accepted and used in the Royal chapel four days before its use

¹ See Barry's *Teachers' Prayer Book*.

was commanded by Act of Parliament. It was first generally used on the 24th of June 1559.

The Puritan party disliked vestments proper to certain services and special seasons, so they were much relieved when, on the occasion of a great ceremony at St. Paul's in September, the archbishop-elect and three others appeared in black gowns.

But the Prayer Book was now an accomplished fact, and this was an untold blessing. Churchmen could afford to wait for proper vestments; the first thing was to restore order, and this was now done.

It must have been dreadful in the days before when everything was in such confusion—the altars broken, and in some churches only a board laid upon two trestles to serve for the sacred purpose.

And, no longer in the chancel, the Holy Table could be placed in the body of the church, and communicants could receive the Holy Communion either sitting or standing, as they thought fit. Now there was, at least, reverence, and that was a great thing gained. It has been said that the Pope Pius IV. offered to sanction the Prayer Book if only the English Church would acknowledge his supremacy. But this may not be true. At any rate, it was never done.

Elizabeth liked to keep sees vacant as long as possible for the enrichment of her coffers, and it was not till the 17th of December in this year, 1559, that Dr. Parker was consecrated by William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Hodgkins, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford; Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter; and John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester.

Bishop Barlow was Bishop-elect of Chichester, and Dr. Scory Bishop-elect of Hereford.

The consecration took place at Lambeth, and Dr. Scory preached the sermon.

An absurd story was invented by some extreme Romanists that Parker was never properly consecrated, but that some sort of ceremony was performed, in which he was the chief actor, at the tavern called the Nag's Head, near the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside.

There is not the slightest truth in this, and I only mention it because you are sure to hear of it, and you ought to know the truth. In our own day no educated Romanist believes it.

But in Elizabeth's time party feeling ran high, and some people thought little of truth in trying to uphold their own cause.

The Puritans hoped that the Queen was won over to their party, and must have been horrified to find that on All Saints' Day, in spite of the daylight in the Chapel Royal, a silver crucifix shone from the altar in the glow of lighted tapers.

They felt it difficult to trust a Queen who was not to be overruled, but held her own views in spite of all.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH UNDER ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH inclined much more to the old customs and ceremonies than to the plain services of the Puritans. But her caution kept her steadily in that middle course which really saved our National Church. For the tendency was to run into extremes, and the party most in power was in sympathy with the German and Swiss Reformers.

Soon after his own consecration the Archbishop consecrated eleven bishops to vacant sees; and next came the filling up of vacant benefices.

This was not easy. The wholesale plunder of Church property in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and the poverty which was thus general throughout the country, had affected the Universities, so that there was no supply of educated men as of old. Then, too, the destruction of the monastic schools which had trained candidates for Holy orders had been complete and no means taken to provide other training.

Then again, very often village churches had been served by deputies, and sometimes from monasteries to which they belonged; these monks were called vicars because they acted for the abbot who took

the great tithes, while the vicar had the small ones.

Now the tithes had all gone to the Crown, or to those laymen who had been enriched by the spoil of the religious houses. A great many cures were vacant. Sometimes only one out of three churches could be served, and the neglected churches fell into decay, and the people into greater ignorance than in pre-Reformation days. Archbishop Parker tried to remedy this. Though many came forward for ordination in 1560, great gaps still remained. There were men who were too ignorant for the priesthood, but who were good and earnest; for these he revived the minor order of Lector or Lay Reader, and licensed them to read the daily offices, but, of course, they could not administer the sacraments.

And here must be recorded an addition to the Prayer Book in 1562 of "*The whole Booke of Psalmes*, collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to sing them withall."

It was no new thing to have hymns as part of the public worship of the Church, but this was different. The times were not refined and many of the popular songs were very coarse. Sternhold knew this well, for after leaving Oxford he had been made groom of the chambers to Henry VIII., and knew the tone of the Court.

With a praiseworthy effort to give the courtiers something better to sing than the sonnets they delighted in, he began to paraphrase the Psalms—that is, to turn them into English verse.

This is always a risky thing to do. The Psalms are grand old Hebrew poems, and it was a perilous thing to try to reduce them to English verse; especially as, though Sternhold was a religious man, he was not a poet. But he did his best, though he could not complete the work, for he died in 1549.

However, John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman and schoolmaster with the same great aim in view, set to work with the aid of others to complete the task; and it was finished and attached to the Prayer Book in 1562.

We may smile at the quaint rhymes and curious phrases, but we must honour the men who strove to lift up the souls they saw cleaving to the dust; and among them is one Psalm that lives and will live, we may safely say, as long as hymns are sung by English voices, for the relief of thankful English hearts.

We sing it at our great festivals, at our days of national or civic rejoicing, at our Harvest Thanksgivings, at any great gathering of special importance, and we call it the "Old Hundredth," because when another version was made this was already old, and had its place in all hearts.

It was sung, and is still sung, to one of the "apt tunes" mentioned on the title page—a tune composed by Gondimel and Le Jeune, for the Genevan (French) Psalter of 1551.

Archbishop Parker set before the clergy a rule by which to guide themselves in their teaching. This rule is embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles which you may find in your Prayer Book. They were set forth in 1563.

They are not a confession of Faith; we have that in our three Creeds. In preparing these Articles of Religion, the Archbishop had the help (or hindrance) of Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, Guest, Bishop of Rochester, and Grindal, Bishop of London. Some of them would have been truer to the primitive doctrine of the Church if Grindal had had nothing to do with them. There is a Calvinistic flavour about some of them which can be traced to Puritan influence, at a time when feeling and prejudice were strong against the traditions of the English Church.

All through the episcopate of Parker, feeling ran high and he had a very difficult task. A certain party in the Church objected to proper vestments for the clergy when performing their sacred offices; and when Grindal was made Bishop of London in 1559, he was not content with his Archbishop's opinion, but wrote to Peter Martyr to ask his advice on the subject. This was rather like putting one pope in the place of another.

"The Puritans disliked the surplice, calling it a "Popish rag," and in the Convocation of 1562 it was proposed to abolish vestments and ceremonies. They had evidently forgotten how the Jewish priests were vested in the Old Testament, and with what ceremonies their worship was conducted.

The Queen would not listen to the proposal, and bade the Archbishop and the other bishops enforce the uniform use of vestments.

He drew up a number of Articles called Advertisements, enforcing as simple a ceremonial as he thought would be tolerated; and one hundred of the London

clergy were summoned to Lambeth to conform to them. One of the orders was that the clergy should wear a linen surplice in church.

Thirty-seven out of the hundred refused and were suspended. This was the first schism in the Church of England (1566).

At the head of the Puritans was Thomas Cartwright, a man of upright life who belonged to the University of Cambridge, where he was Professor and Fellow of Trinity and preached strongly against vestments and ceremonies and those high in authority in the Church.

He was so very outspoken in his views that John Whitgift, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, deprived him of his professorship of Divinity, and also of his Fellowship.

It was not that Cartwright wanted freedom to worship as he liked, but he wished to overturn the Episcopacy and remodel the Church altogether.

Puritanism was rife in the diocese of London where Grindal was bishop. He was not altogether in favour with his clergy, because he was not, at first, certain which side to take, but when his mind was made up he was bold and strong in defence of what he thought right, and had the courage to remonstrate with the Queen against the arbitrary use of her authority.

He was appointed Archbishop of York in 1570, and Bishop Sandys, a much stronger Puritan, was appointed to the diocese of London.

In this year arose a cause of dispute which might have been the means of great good, if only a temperate

spirit had been shown. The cause of dispute was that some of the clergy held meetings for studying and discussing passages of Holy Scripture.

These meetings were called Prophesyings or Exercises, and if those who took part in them had kept them free from party spirit great good might have resulted from this Biblical study. But they were made an excuse for getting up a Presbyterian organization in the district. It was hoped thus to supersede the Church organization in the end.

Elizabeth had been surrounded by plots all her life, and was so suspicious of the strong Puritan influence which she saw gaining ground that she ordered the meetings to cease.

The bishops tried to regulate the meetings, but the Queen meant to stop them, and in Norwich, at least, the Bishop, Dr. Parkhurst, had to obey.

When Archbishop Parker died in May 1575, Grindal succeeded him. The Queen in this appointment followed the advice of Cecil, but she did not really approve it. The Puritans were too strong a party in the State to please her; very soon the new Archbishop provoked her wrath.

He saw that these meetings might be of great use to students of the Scriptures, and he ordered that the bishop of a diocese should license them (thus making them lawful), and he proposed that they should be presided over by the archdeacon; and only qualified persons should speak, and politics should be kept out of the discussions.

This was very moderate and reasonable; but the Queen was neither one nor the other, and the Arch-

bishop was suspended for six months, his see was left vacant, and the Queen suppressed the meetings with a high hand.

The Queen never forgave Grindal for the part he had taken in the matter, and wished to appoint Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury in his place. But to this Whitgift would not agree. Grindal remained Primate till 1583, when Whitgift succeeded him.

The reign of Elizabeth is so full of events and plots against the throne, and efforts to destroy the Church so jostle one another, that it is very difficult to find an easy way through the crowd. But we ought to know that when Knox was launching his thunder-bolts against the Church a very different man—Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard—was founding his Order of Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, as it was first called. The Jesuits were great missionaries, and the first mission to India was conducted by them in the sixteenth century.

The Thirty-nine Articles were enforced upon the clergy in 1571. They had been first published in 1563.

Two years before this there had been the plot of the Duke of Norfolk to dethrone Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne. This was followed by the Rising in the North in favour of Mary. But more important still was the Bull of the Pope excommunicating Elizabeth (1570).

This was more than her proud spirit would stand, and she saw clearly the advantage both Spain and France would gain by knowing England to be under

the Pope's ban. Therefore, she published some extremely cruel laws against the Roman Catholics.

Then in 1571 all the clergy were ordered to accept the Thirty-nine Articles, and every one was ordered to attend Church.

Now the Romanists who disapproved of the alterations in the services could not do this, and they fled the country.

Among them was Dr. Allen, who had been a Fellow at Oxford. He went to Douai in French Flanders and founded a college there as a seminary for English priests.

Pope Pius v. was staunch in his belief that the Church of Rome was alone in the right, and he wished to bring every one into its fold. To lose all hold of the obstinate little island in the northern seas and to see its people perish (as he thought) in their sins, spurred him on to great efforts to win over England, and he made Allen a cardinal and gave his support to the English college at Douai and to others in Spain and France, and Philip II. of Spain helped in the expenses.

You have heard of the massacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when by order of the King, Charles IX., goaded on by his mother, the wicked Catharine de Medicis, all the Protestants in Paris (Huguenots they were called) were most cruelly murdered.

The English were horrified at this, and the Queen saw clearly enough that, if such things were done across the Channel, they might be expected here; especially as France was naturally on the side of

her cousin, Mary Stuart, who was now her prisoner in England.

Desiring to bring over England to Rome, the seminary priests of Douai landed in England in 1574, and in the course of five years a hundred had settled here bent on their mission, and in 1580 another mission was sent to Ireland.

The hearts of these priests were aflame with the desire to win souls, and in 1581 a band of Jesuits joined them to help on their work.

The priests of the Jesuit mission were very much in earnest, and Elizabeth saw in them a great force which might be used against her, so she determined to find out the names of the principal Roman Catholics in England.

Campion, one of the priests, was put to the rack, and in his agony revealed some of the names. The Government employed spies to find them out, and in 1582 it was made high treason to profess any religion other than that of the Church of England. Finally, in 1585 a law was passed that, on pain of being treated as traitors, all Jesuits should quit the kingdom, for Elizabeth believed, with some show of reason, that they had helped to form plots against her throne and her life.

There is no doubt that Anthony Babington, a Roman Catholic who was strongly on the side of Mary Stuart, did mean to murder the Queen; and the Jesuits were suspected of being in the plot.

To put an end to these schemes against her life and her kingdom, Elizabeth beheaded Mary. But she was not safe yet.

It is terrible to think how people were persecuted for their religious opinions, both Romanists and Puritans alike. But at the time of the Jesuit mission it was the Romanists who were most feared by the Queen. And, though she had more than two hundred Romanists put to death, and others were left to die a lingering death in prison, she maintained that they were punished for treason, not for their religious opinions.

Recusants were punished with heavy fines. £20 a month was a large sum, but Elizabeth enriched herself in this way, and she forbade recusants to go farther away from their home than five miles.

And now the Pope and Philip II. of Spain felt that if Elizabeth would not bend her iron will she should be made to do so, and in 1588 the Spanish Armada was sent out to conquer Elizabeth.

We all know how it failed, and that from the attempt to fetter the free spirit of England, Pope and King retired discomfited. Henceforth in the minds of Englishmen the Pope stood forth as their enemy; and it has taken centuries to soften the feeling and to bring about that liberty of conscience which we now enjoy.

For the Romanists were not alone in Elizabeth's displeasure.

In the Parliaments of 1584 and 1585 the Puritan party had tried to impose upon the Church a system of government by elders, termed Presbyterianism, which meant the doing away with bishops altogether.

Archbishop Whitgift issued a code of canons which met many of the objections of the Puritans,

and they, seeing that the Queen and Archbishop were both against them, issued some abusive tracts called the Marprelate libels, and thus they damaged their own cause. Penry and Udal, the chief offenders, suffered death.

In 1593 an Act of Parliament was passed by request of the Queen to banish from the kingdom all those who refused to attend Church, or who had private meetings of their own. Some thought it wiser to conform, and remained in the Church. But others became separatists from the Church of England in the same way as the Roman Catholics. The Nonconformists settled in Holland under the name of Brownists—so called because they followed the teaching of a clergyman named Brown. Later they were called Independents.

Thus the Queen cleared the country of the two parties she most dreaded as dangerous to Church and State; and for the last ten years of her reign there was comparative peace, in spite of the existence of other sects. These were Presbyterians and Baptists, and later on the Quakers, called by their own followers the Society of Friends.

CHAPTER XIV

ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.

ALL through the terrible religious strife and cruelty of Elizabeth's reign our beloved Church, sorely maimed and wounded in the conflict, still held the field, and we may thank Elizabeth for one good thing above all—the English Prayer Book which was first used in 1559.

Calvinism was introduced into Scotland and had its stern advocate in John Knox, who vainly tried to convert Mary Queen of Scots. It became the established religion of Scotland, and was confirmed by the Solemn League and Covenant.

You have not forgotten the distressed state of the country after the dissolution of monasteries, and how the monks and nuns, half-starved and homeless, wandered about dependent on the charity of those who would take compassion on them and shelter and feed them.

Few, if any, of these monks and nuns were now left, nor were there any places left where the poor could be relieved and fed. Changes in the agriculture of the country affected the labouring classes, and England was being infested with beggars who either could not or would not work, and Elizabeth estab-

lished Poor Laws for the shelter and relief of the aged poor and to provide work for the able-bodied. All who could were expected to contribute to the support of those who could not help themselves.

There had been efforts made to restore some churches which had fallen into disuse and consequent decay, though still much remained to be done.

Two great theological writers of this reign were John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, who defended the Church of England from the attacks of Rome in his *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, published in 1562, and Richard Hooker, the author of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Hooker, born in 1554, owed his education in a great degree to the friendship of Bishop Jewell, through whose influence he was entered at Oxford at the age of fourteen in 1568.

To him, with Andrewes and Overall (of whom you will read later), we are indebted for making clear not only the Church's mission and Apostolic authority, but her system of government and the spirit of her teaching.

In 1584 he was called from his country parish to London and appointed Master of the Temple.

At this time the afternoon lecturer at the Temple was one Walter Travers—a good man; but he had not been ordained by a bishop, and was a Nonconformist, for at that time the afternoon lecturer at the Temple was not obliged to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles.

Travers, being as strong a Calvinist as Hooker was a Churchman, what was preached in the morning was

contradicted in the afternoon; and the arguments and discussions among the lawyers, to which these opposing doctrines gave rise, stirred in Hooker's mind the desire to explain and prove the authority and show what was the government of the English Church; and to this the Church owes that most valuable treatise on the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, which ranks higher than any other work of the kind.

The first four books were published in 1594, the fifth in 1597. Hooker died in 1600, and the three last books of his *Polity* were not published till forty-seven years afterwards.

Owing to an unhappy marriage with a scolding wife, his life was a troubled one, and by no means long, but he left behind him a priceless heritage for the English Church.

We can but glance at all the various opinions held at this time, for this little book is but a guide-post to point to broader roads and wider views, which will gradually unfold as you move upward. But always bear in mind that in the terrible disputes and misunderstandings of the years of the Reformation period there were good and saintly men on both sides, in the ranks of the Nonconformists as in those of the Church.

Yet we may reasonably regret that all who were at heart dissenters did not leave the Church, for we know that enemies within the camp do more harm than foes outside.

Elizabeth ended her eventful life on the 24th of March 1603. Archbishop Whitgift was with her before she died. He was her true friend to the last, and only survived her a few months.

Two generations had passed since the dissolution of monasteries, and more than forty years since the English Prayer Book had been in use both in England and Ireland. Here and there might be old men and women who remembered the Pilgrimage of Grace and the bitterness of feeling against Thomas Cromwell. But, on the whole, English people had settled down into a state of security under the later rule of Elizabeth, who, with all her faults, was devoted to England and had governed it better than any sovereign since Edward I.

The accession to the English throne of James VI. of Scotland seemed to make for peace—as England and Scotland had been constantly at strife in the olden days, and Border wars had been the source of much distress. But now, when a Scottish king ascended the English throne as his by right of heirship, the prospect brightened and the people were glad.

The Presbyterians rejoiced because King James had been brought up in their views ; he had signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and they hoped to see the Anglican Church vanquished at last.

You must not forget that some of the Puritans at this time were a party *within* the Church—not objecting to bishops, but wishing to do away with forms and ceremonies ; some Presbyterians were outside the Church, having separated themselves from it, having their own government which was by elders and deacons, not episcopal.

The Roman Catholics may perhaps have hoped that James would be on their side, as he had been

baptized in that faith. The Anglican Church must have felt less secure in his probable support, because there seemed more to win him to the two opposing parties.

But Archbishop Whitgift was a man of strong common sense, and he sent to Scotland, to offer to King James the congratulations of the Church, the very man most likely to win his favour. This was Dr. Neville, Dean of Canterbury.

His mission to James was simply that of ambassador for the archbishops and bishops of the Church, not only to congratulate the King, but to find if the Church might look for his support.

The King's answer was both gracious and moderate. He said "he would uphold the Church of England, and was anxious to be informed on ecclesiastical subjects and the present state of the Church."

This raised the hopes of the Puritan clergy, and on his way from Edinburgh to London a petition signed by nearly eight hundred of the Puritan clergy was presented to him asking for reformation in the Church on certain points. They wished to do away with Confirmation, the sign of the Cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and of the terms, priest and absolution, in the Prayer Book.

Now, these were wholesale changes to require, and James wisely proposed a meeting of Churchmen to confer upon them, at which Conference he would preside.

This Conference took place at Hampton Court in January 1604.

The King knew so little about the Church of



HAMPTON COURT PALACE WITH MOAT

England that before the Conference could really meet it was necessary to put himself under instruction, so that when the Conference opened on the 16th of January he was equal to the occasion and presided with shrewdness and ability.

It was not an equal Conference as regards numbers, as on the Anglican side were nine bishops, seven deans, and three other divines; while only four of the clergy spoke on the Puritan side. They were, however, all men of mark, and Dr. Reynolds in particular was specially fitted to speak on all the subjects brought forward.

But it appeared that the Puritans wanted so many alterations and omissions that they would be satisfied with nothing less than founding a new Church. Dr. Reynolds made it also very clear that he wished to limit the powers of the bishops.

The King had seen too much of the lawlessness under the Presbyterian system in Scotland to encourage it here, and he spoke so strongly that Dr. Reynolds saw that, if he would not give way on a great matter like that, he was not likely to yield on such points as a wedding ring or a surplice.

Some one objected that the Church Catechism was too short, whereupon the King remarked that an addition could be made to it.

One result, therefore, of the Hampton Court Conference was that a new part of the Catechism, that on the Sacraments, was added to it by Dr. Overall, Dean of St. Paul's.

The Puritans also asked for a new translation of the Bible to be carefully prepared under the most

learned men of the day; and this very reasonable request the King granted. So that one most important result of the Hampton Court Conference was the translation of the Bible, known to us as the Authorized Version. The translators met at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. There were six divisions of translators, each of the six taking a special portion to translate. But the whole Book was to be examined by the whole body of translators before it was published.

The love for this Authorized Version of the Bible lies deep in the heart of Christians; it is written in noble language at a time when the English language was at its best, and there is nothing like it in the whole world, for instruction, for comfort, and for help.

Another result of this Conference of 1604 was that, during the sessions of Convocation following it, a code of Canons was drawn up which both King and bishops felt necessary to uphold the authority and discipline of the Church.

When these Canons received the sanction of the Crown in 1604 Archbishop Whitgift was dead; but Bancroft, his successor, began at once to enforce the canons upon all the clergy.

Banishment was to be the punishment of those who did not submit; and most of the Puritans when hard pressed took the Oath. There were, however, about three hundred who could not conscientiously subscribe, and they joined those who had in earlier days fled to Holland that they might have religious freedom.

It is to be regretted that the Puritans, who were

suffering from the stern determination to enforce uniformity upon them, did not feel sympathy with the Roman Catholics who were really treated much more severely. But they were very hard upon them. At first King James and Archbishop Bancroft were inclined to be lenient with the Roman Catholics, and the King felt that as recusants they had been much too severely dealt with. But the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 scattered all such kindly thoughts to the winds, and the whole body of Romanists suffered for the sins and treason of the few. The most stringent measures were put in force, and not until towards the close of his reign did James show any lenience to them. This was perhaps more on civil than religious grounds; he could not forget that some of them had once threatened his life and throne.

After the Hampton Court Conference it became clear to Englishmen that whatever opinions they might hold about the Church of England and about Presbyterianism, the two systems were so opposed that they could not agree. A Church apostolic in its foundation, which could trace its origin through a long unbroken line of bishops from the Apostles themselves, could not accept government by elders and presbyters. Those who desired it must find it elsewhere. And with regard to ritual, it was certain they would never agree. Then, as now, people had different points of view.

To offer the very best to God in worship is the desire of many earnest men, and yet there are others, equally earnest, who ignore the wonderful ritual set

forth in the Book of the Revelation and consider all outward helps to worship are hindrances. And yet both alike may realize the one eternal fact that "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER XV

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE CHURCH

AFTER all the storm and stress of the reign of Elizabeth, and the constant struggles of the Puritans to get the upper hand, the Church seemed at last to have come to a quieter time, when those who loved her could turn away from strife and debate to the working out of her great mission and the building up of what misguided souls had broken down.

You have noticed, perhaps, in some old churches the piscina in the south-eastern side of the south aisle—a little arch and niche. Now, the existence of that little arched niche should tell you that you are in what was originally a side-chapel. But where is the altar?

In the days of Edward VI. those altars were swept away as idolatrous or popish, and in the early and middle periods of Elizabeth's reign very frequently that side-chapel was turned into a square pew.

The churches were sadly defaced in this way. True, there are some in which the old open benches or stalls with carved ends or poppy heads remain as they were before the Reformation, but, sixty years ago, nearly every church was utterly spoilt by square

pews, mostly used by the gentry, and the squire's pew was often the worst enormity, being generally part of one of the side-chapels or chantries.

The poor were much better off. There were in all churches open benches with backs set apart for them, for it was a sad fact that in those days great distinction was made in church—where surely all are equal—between the rich and the poor. But they had the advantage in their open seats.

The clerk's desk, the reading-desk, and pulpit were one above the other, generally surmounted by a sounding-board; and on the desk of the pulpit stood an hour-glass to warn the preacher when to stop his discourse.

The Puritans put preaching far above praying, but some of the sermons must have been very wearisome to the young hearers.

Though pews were, as a rule, the outcome of the Reformation, some did exist even as early as the fourteenth century; and we know that even Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, objected to them. But the system had grown after the time of Henry VIII., and a century later they were in general use.

But now, if the surroundings were unfavourable to worship, the worship itself was more frequent and more reverent. Daily services were again held, and though the Holy Communion was celebrated but seldom, there were signs of a desire for its more frequent reception, and a growing reverence was manifested in this highest service of all.

Elizabeth had been a great robber of Church lands; in fact, for many years both dioceses and parishes



ROOM IN ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT'S HOSPITAL, CROYDON

had been shamefully robbed, and, in particular, the country parishes had suffered.

The parish priest's stipend was a mere pittance, and naturally the livings fell into the hands of uneducated men, not at all fitted for their high office.

But James was not a robber of churches, and in his reign the class from which the clergy was drawn was one of good breeding and culture, as you will see when you read of George Herbert and other devout men of this and the following reign.

Archbishop Whitgift has left a name which by most people is best remembered in his Hospital at Croydon, a picturesque old building, consisting of almshouses for aged poor people. In one room of the Hospital we can see the Archbishop's portrait, his Bible, and a wonderful old chest. In connection with the Hospital is a school, a foundation due to Whitgift's generosity and his desire for a high standard of education.

But to students of Church History he stands out as a strong Churchman in the days when many were weak; as a moderate man when it was the tendency to run into extremes; as a kindly and considerate judge when it was the custom to persecute; as a true shepherd of Christ's flock, who restored and built up where others had robbed and defaced. As he lay dying, the King went to see him; the Archbishop could scarcely speak, but what he did say gives the keynote to his life of earnest work. *Pro ecclesia Dei*. Remember the words; they tell us how his life and health and strength and talents had been spent "For the Church of God."

Bancroft, Bishop of London, who succeeded Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury, was very much like him in character—rather fiery in temper and not afraid of giving a stern rebuke when necessary, but inclining to kindness and broad mindedness. As time went on, he held his impetuous spirit more in check and showed himself not only a zealous, but a most kind chief pastor. The Church owes much to her two Archbishops, Whitgift and Bancroft.

Persecution had not died out. Recusants, both Roman Catholics and Puritans, were many, and some were severely punished, though not many suffered death. Though some did suffer shows plainly that the Spirit of Christ was still lacking in the dealings with His people.

But Churchman and Puritan were opposed to one another on political grounds more than on ecclesiastical. As James showed more and more of his belief in the Divine Right of Kings, a belief shared by those Churchmen best defined as Anglicans, so more and more the Puritans showed themselves on the side of the Parliament and that they were opposed to the kingly government. Meanwhile the Church bore the blame of the persecutions, and the Puritans were considered martyrs.

They were a strong and sturdy race, with few of the gentler arts and graces, upright and rugged in their religion as in their conduct, but narrow minded, while claiming unbounded liberty for themselves and their views.

James was an encourager of learned men, and not

a few in his reign have left their mark on the literature of the time.

We can but glance at a few Churchmen who graced his reign and that of his son, and who did an undying work in strengthening the Church against his enemies.

The term Arminianism became now in frequent use. Arminius was a foreigner who published his opinions in his *Declaratio* in 1608. It is enough here to say of it, that Arminius went too far in opposition to the doctrines of Calvin.

We have spoken of Richard Hooker and his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, the first volumes of which were issued in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and we may refer to his friend, Richard Field, Dean of Gloucester, whose treatise "of the Church," published in 1606, written to convince Roman Catholics of the true and historical position of the Church of England, was a most able, fair, and temperate work.

John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's at the time of the Hampton Court Conference, 1604, afterwards Bishop of Ely and then of Norwich, set forth his views in the second part of the Church Catechism. He was a sound Anglican in doctrine and practice, and to his influence we probably owe the strong Church views of John Cosin, his secretary and librarian, of whom we shall hear later.

Another strengthener of the Church was Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1616.

Nor must we forget John Buckeridge, who died in 1631. He was Bishop of Rochester and afterwards of Ely. He was a learned man, and when Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, was tutor to William

Laud, who became quite the most prominent Churchman of his time, who fought and suffered in a remarkable degree during the reign of James and of Charles I., and sealed his allegiance to the Church with his death.

A man of wide influence in spreading the Church principles of the reign of James I. was the saintly Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely and afterwards of Winchester, who died in 1626.

He was a very learned man, especially in all that related to the primitive History of the Church. But he never put himself forward in Church affairs unless he saw it was right and necessary to do so, when he was unflinching in stating the truth. His faith was firm as a rock, and his practice was that of a true servant of Christ.

At a time when the more devout clergy were trying to restore to the worship of the Church some of its former reverence and ceremony, Bishop Andrewes went beyond others in the ritual observed in his private chapel at Ely. Here were lights and incense, wafer bread at the celebration of the Holy Communion, beautiful altar cloths, and veils for the chalice. Yet, while using full ceremonial in his own chapel, he was careful of the tender consciences of others, content if his clergy used a very simple mode of service, provided it was decent and reverent. He carefully observed the days of fasting and abstinence enjoined by the Church, and so pure and holy was his life that he moved at Court untainted by Court life, and, what is even more remarkable, never provoked the scorn or contempt of those who differed from him.

It has been necessary to touch upon the ritual which Bishop Andrewes used, because Laud was credited by the Puritans with being the first to revive the high ceremonial of the Church of England, whereas Bishop Andrewes was certainly before him in the matter.

He drew up a Consecration Service of a new church, which is almost the same as that used in our own day. It is impossible to estimate too highly the service which Andrewes did for the Church, especially by his patristic learning. Patristic means belonging to the Fathers, or the great teachers of the Primitive Church.

If Bishop Andrewes would in these days be called a High Churchman, there was another Bishop who might now be called a Low Churchman. This was Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham.

Though opposed to the ritual approved of Bishop Andrewes, he was very much like him in his piety and learning—a man beloved and revered by those who most differed from him, who loved the Church, and had no sympathy with the teaching of Geneva, and no desire to accept Roman views. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Overall, and it was Archbishop Bancroft who made him chaplain to James I.—in fact, most of his promotion came from those who differed from him on matters of ritual, showing that our Mother Church embraces children of many shades of thought so long as they are true to her creeds, consistent in their practice, and obedient to her laws.

Laud has been left to the last, and must have a place in another chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

LAUD AND THE PURITANS

JAMES I., who began as a Presbyterian, needing what we should call "coaching" in Church doctrine, came more under Anglican influence as time went on. This was shown in his desire to introduce episcopacy into Scotland—a desire which may explain the mystery why, when Archbishop Bancroft died in 1610, Andrewes was not appointed to succeed him.

He was undoubtedly the man most fitted to fill the Chair of St. Augustine; but James had found in George Abbot, Bishop of London, a ready helper when he wished the Scots to accept again the government of bishops, and he was appointed to the archbishopric.

A man who had presided at the consecration of three Scottish bishops might have been considered averse to Calvinism, but Abbot was a very narrow Calvinist who had done his best to check the growth of a wider theology, even while he was at Oxford. Abbot's belief in the episcopacy as a Divine foundation was weak and vague, and he yielded to the King's fixed opinion that kings alone had any "Divine right."

Bancroft had ruled the Church with a firm yet gentle hand; and, had Lancelot Andrewes succeeded him, there is no doubt many of the terrible troubles which beset the Church later would have never arisen.

Abbot was never popular even with the Puritans, who might have been expected to uphold him. His weakness and inability to rule made the King determined to rule the Church himself, and James's un wisdom in dealing with differences between Church and State made many people suspect the Church of opinions which were really those of the King alone.

Politically the Puritans were opposed to the King's government, and during the time of Abbot's rule the feeling of opposition to monarchy grew and strengthened.

Among the Churchmen most opposed to Abbot was William Laud, a man whose Church views were those of Andrewes, though he was in temperament widely different.

He was born at Reading in 1573, educated at the Free School there, and he went afterwards to St. John's College, Oxford. Here his tutor was the strong Churchman, John Buckeridge. He was Fellow of St. John's in 1593. In 1601 he was ordained, and soon showed on which side he was on Church matters. At Oxford he was taken to task for his opinions, but Laud was not a man to be silenced by opposition. What he believed that he would uphold, and as his manner was hasty and masterful he soon became hated by those who differed from

him, though in reality his opinions and practice were the same as those of Andrewes, Bishop of Ely.

Perhaps the reason that Laud was so hated by the Puritans was that, like James I. and his son Charles, he upheld the right of the King to govern the Parliament, whereas the Puritans insisted that the Parliament should govern the King. Laud took his stand on the old system of monarchy as described in Old Testament history and on the ancient traditions of English government. Added to this he was a firm opponent of Calvinism.

And, indeed, we cannot wonder that when our Heavenly Father was represented as more cruel and unjust than any heathen god, he spoke out strongly against the Calvinistic doctrine, and says indignantly, "Which opinion my very soul abominates, for it makes God, the God of all mercies, to be the most fierce and unreasonable tyrant in the world."

These and other similar words made the Puritans very angry, and they blinded their eyes to the fact that he was honest and staunch, a devout servant of God and His Church, and one who strove after uprightness.

The Puritans hated Buckingham, the King's favourite and the constant companion of Prince Charles. But they did not see, or would not own, that Buckingham would have been much worse without Laud, his spiritual guide, who kept him in check and influenced him for good as no one else did.

In 1616 he was appointed Dean of Gloucester, and found everything connected with the Cathedral in a most slovenly state. The altar had been moved

from its proper position in the chancel to the middle of the choir. He soon convinced the chapter that this was wrong; and it was restored to its proper place. But this made an enemy of the Bishop, Dr. Miles Smith, who declared that while it remained in the chancel he would never enter the Cathedral again.

It was Dr. Miles Smith who wrote the Dedication *to the most High and Mighty Prince James*, which is on the first page of the Bible—the Authorized Version.

It is not an admirable composition; its flattering tone very different from the solemn and dignified phrasing of the Bible itself. A man who could write such words to an earthly monarch might have been expected to uphold that monarch's faithful servant, but the Bishop was much offended and he carried nearly all Gloucester (a Puritan stronghold) with him.

Laud the next year offended some of the Scots when he went with King James to Scotland, because at a funeral he wore a surplice. In 1621 he was made Bishop of St. David's; in 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and in 1628 he was made Bishop of London.

During all these years his influence had grown. His position as spiritual guide to Buckingham had brought him into close relationship with Charles, who became deeply attached to him; and when Charles succeeded his father in 1625, the most powerful influence in his life was that of Laud, Bishop of London.

As Bishop of London Laud soon saw many abuses of which he began to make a clean sweep.

The beautiful Cathedral, known to us as Old St. Paul's, with its immense Norman nave, its massive pillars and delicate columns, had been desecrated and defiled till people had almost ceased to look upon it as the sanctuary of God, but had turned it into a place of merchandise, a veritable "den of thieves."

Its aisles were used as places of meeting with friends, or for idle strolls with companions who talked in loud voices of all sorts of worldly things, quite forgetting that the place was holy. "Paul's Walk," as it was called, was an ordinary place of meeting, and the whole Cathedral was profaned.

It had been so neglected that it needed thorough repair and restoration, and towards the expense of this Laud raised the sum of £100,000. His great aim was to make it what a cathedral church ought to be—the centre of religious life in the diocese. But he provided a place for the children who had played there to have their games in.

Paul's Cross was standing in Laud's time, and we can picture it as an open-air pulpit, led up to by a flight of steps. The pulpit had a roof surmounted by a beautiful cross. But this emblem of our salvation the Puritans thought superstitious, and so Paul's Cross was doomed. It was destroyed by the Puritans in 1643.

In 1633 Laud was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and soon showed his great powers by the way he exercised his high office.

In his hands the High Commission Court became

a living force. A thorough visitation of his province brought to light grave offences against the most simple reverence within the churches, and the most utter neglect without.

Soon the Archbishop took measures to remedy the effects of sinful negligence. Cathedral chapters were reminded of their laws and told to obey them. Parish churchwardens were ordered to repair their churches. Within the churches of his province a change was soon to be seen.

The clergy had to wear the surplice whether they liked it or not; the Holy Table was restored to its proper place at the east end, kneeling at the reception of Holy Communion was enforced, and all parishioners were to receive the Communion at least three times a year. They were also to bow at the Holy Name, and the men were to remove their hats in church. To us these seem to be only right and simple things, but in those days they were strongly objected to by the Puritan party within the Church.

But Laud did not stop short at Church observances or the fabric of the Church; he went deeper still, down into the very heart of religious and moral life.

Did a man in power oppress the poor, he was bound to mend his ways. Any robber of Church property had to restore his ill-gotten gains. The cruel had to cease from their cruelty, the unjust had to learn justice (or at any rate they were obliged to practise it). And Laud made no distinction between rich and poor; all felt his lash, all had to obey.

Laud applied to others the same discipline he applied to himself; he taught, as he learnt, by discipline.

But, although tolerant in mind, he was harsh and unsympathetic in manner. Hence he was unpopular.

Then he would not have Sunday profaned by the trading and drinking that went on. Those who disobeyed his orders to cease from these wrong-doings were punished.

One would have thought that the transparent honesty and justice which made no difference between rich and poor would have found favour in the eyes of the sturdy Puritans. But Laud upheld the Divine right of the King—that was his great offence; and he also used the King's power as a help in religion. Thus the State affairs became so mixed up with those of the Church that soon it was quite enough to be a good Churchman for the Puritan to count him an enemy; and liberty to worship in his own fashion became identical with rebellion against the authority of the monarch. Before long Churchmen were on the side of the King, Puritans on the side of the Parliament, and the result was that terrible Civil War which commenced in 1642.

It was while Laud was rising into power that some of the Puritan exiles, who had fled to Leyden in the time of Elizabeth, determined to seek in the New World that freedom of worship they were denied in England.

These sturdy Puritans, ready to sacrifice home and country for conscience' sake, had faith in the protection of God whom they wished to serve; and this faith made them ready to face life in the far-off country where Freedom bade them welcome and enticed them on to peace.



ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE

You may remember the Yceanho, mentioned by Bede, and that a hermit, St. Botolph, had his cell there. In Bede's time it was a lonely and desolate place in the fens, close to that large estuary called The Wash, which led to the grey North Sea. Long ago the hermit's cell had vanished, but his name had been given to the cluster of houses growing round it on the north bank of the River Witham, and Boston or Botolph's town, because of its nearness to the sea, had become a place of great trade.

In 1620 Boston was a famous town, with a wide market-place and many narrow streets, some of which bear to this day the old mediæval names.

But though a fine old town with more picturesque buildings than remain in it now, it had (and has) one surpassing glory—its beautiful church.

Built in the thirteenth century, it has all the perfect charm of that period, with its stately tower raising its queenly head so high that for miles at sea it is a landmark beloved of seamen, its lace-like lantern-crown bearing aloft in bygone days a friendly light to warn the mariners of quicksands and shoals.

The vicar of St. Botolph's Church at Boston, in 1620, was a Puritan, a Dr. Cotton, and the Mayor was one Atherton Hough—both men of good birth and position, and of strong opinions both in religion and politics. They saw how King James wished to make the monarchy absolute, and they rebelled; they also disliked any ritual or ceremonies in church, so they determined to join the little band of whose intentions at Leyden they had heard.

They bade farewell to their quaint old town and

beautiful church and to their many friends, and joined the exiles at Plymouth. With sad yet hopeful hearts, and a trust in God which not all their dreary Calvinism could quench, they waited for a favourable tide.

In our day when we can cross the Atlantic comfortably in six days, we can scarcely realize what it was to have to face its perils in a little bark of 180 tons, knowing that, even if they were not lost on the voyage, many weeks must pass before they landed on the unknown shore.

But their minds were made up, and on a September morning, with all her canvas spread, the gallant little *Mayflower* sailed out of Plymouth Harbour. They were English hearts on board, stout and strong, so full of faith that they had no room for fear.

It was a long voyage. Not until the 11th of November did they reach the rocky shore of Massachusetts, safe from the perils of "the mournful and misty Atlantic," and their feet rested on the hard, unyielding rock.

The name of the Pilgrim Fathers clings to them—those few dauntless souls who braved the ocean in the *Mayflower* and founded there a colony which became a mighty nation in the days to come.

It is right to look at both sides of the question, and give to each side its due. The Churchmen were sincere and so were the Puritans. But it was like the two knights of old who each gazed upon a shield, but from different sides, and the sides were not alike; one was of gold, the other of silver. So each knight was quite certain the other was wrong, and they

fought about it, not taking into consideration the different points of view.

Laud was perfectly right in exercising to the full his powers as Archbishop, but he made the great mistake of mixing up Church matters with affairs of the State. When he insisted on certain matters of ritual or discipline in the Church, the Puritans blamed the King for it; and in proportion as they hated kingly tyranny, so they rebelled against the authority of the Church.

If Laud could only have seen and allowed that Puritanism was no weak system of fancy which he could dispel, but that (in modern language) "it had come to stay," he perhaps would have acted differently; he might have tried persuasion instead of coercion, which would have been less offensive to the Puritans than the action of a man who appeared like a stern schoolmaster with a rod always in his hand.

But while Laud was doing his best to restore order to the Church, and offending the Puritans by such action, while the Pilgrim Fathers in New England were fighting with unexpected difficulties, there were some saintly souls at home who in quiet ways and simple lives were acting up to the Church's teaching, making no stir about it, but by their holy influence doing the work of Christ.

Such were George Herbert of Bemerton and Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding.

CHAPTER XVII

GEORGE HERBERT AND NICHOLAS FERRAR

GEORGE HERBERT was a man of good birth and education and great refinement in tastes and pursuits; he was also a favourite at the Court of King James.

He is supposed to have retired from Court life and to have been ordained in 1626. This we know, that in 1629 he was presented to the rectory of Bemerton in Wiltshire. Laud was then Bishop of London, and it was through his influence that Herbert was instituted to this living. His biographer, Izaak Walton, tells us this story of his induction.

Being shut up in the church to toll the bell, as the law then required, he stayed so much longer than the ordinary time that his friends became anxious, and one of them, Mr. Woodnot, looking in at the church window, saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar. Not for some time was it known that he was then setting rules for the government of his life, and making a vow to keep them.

How well he kept these rules, and how faithful unto death he proved, was well known to his friends and to his parishioners. He held daily service in

the little church, and proved himself in every way a devoted parish priest.

It is sometimes impossible in country places for the labouring class to attend a daily service; but at Bemerton, while those of the gentry, both in Bemerton and the neighbourhood, were attending the service, Walton tells us that "some of the meaner sort did so love him that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's saints' bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him."

His great recreation was music; and he composed some beautiful hymns and anthems, and when he was well enough he used to go twice a week to worship in Salisbury Cathedral, and sing and play at a musical meeting in the town.

He wrote some lovely poems, which are all included in a book called *The Temple*. A few weeks before his death, Herbert asked a friend to give the manuscript of this book to his dear friend, Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding, begging him to read it, and if he thought that anything in it would be a help or comfort to the readers, he would wish him to publish it.

Mr. Ferrar was so pleased with the saintly spirit which breathed in every verse that he lost no time in carrying out his friend's wish. The book was published at Cambridge shortly after Herbert's death.

He had always been delicate, and after two years at Bemerton his health began to fail, and he died in 1633.

His influence did much to stem the tide of evil in an age of books unfit to read, lifting up the heart and mind to nobler things.

You remember that in the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent men to settle in that part of North America which, in compliment to the Queen, he had called Virginia.

The Virginia Company was formed to arrange the affairs of the colony, and among its members was a London merchant named Nicholas Ferrar. He was a relation, probably a nephew, of the Robert Ferrar who was Bishop of St. David's and who suffered as a martyr in the reign of Mary.

He was a "merchant adventurer," that is, he traded with the East and West Indies, and to the newly discovered places in America, especially Virginia and the Bermudas. He had for friends such men as Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh, and he was most anxious that the Christian religion should be planted in the New World.

You remember that the ancient Celtic Church was distinctly a missionary Church, and so afterwards, when English Churchmen followed in the steps of the early missionaries and taught the Germans the faith of Christ.

But for some time missionary zeal had been on the wane, and lately during the confusion and bitter strife of parties it had appeared dead.

But the zeal was only slumbering; it was not dead, for God never leaves Himself without a witness, and while many of the traders, perhaps, thought only of increasing their riches and gaining fame and power,

one, at least, among them—Nicholas Ferrar—had higher aims.

We have it on the authority of his son John¹ that "in all their expeditions he was ever in the highest degree attentive to the planting of the Christian religion in the New World."

In April 1619 Mr. Ferrar died, and we can tell how strong his desire was for the conversion of the Indians by the fact that he left "a liberal bequest to the Colony for the Christian education of 'young infidels,' " for whom he had always a place in his loving and generous heart. It was his third son Nicholas who was George Herbert's great friend. At his father's death he retired with his mother to Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire.

Here in this quiet village Nicholas Ferrar formed a community of from thirty to forty people, young and old, principally of his own relations, with tutors and servants.

They had very strict rules, and in many ways they followed the system of the old monastic life, but without vows. The glory of God was their chief aim, and so holy was the spirit which pervaded the little band of devout people that the place was as a green spot in a dry and sandy desert.

In addition to their religious duties the members of the community had a room where the poor were treated in sickness, and the nieces of Nicholas Ferrar were taught what we in these days term "first aid to the wounded." The poor were specially their care, and more than a hundred children from neighbouring

¹ *The Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar*, by H. P. K. Skipton.

parishes used to come on Sunday to repeat the psalm they had learnt during the week. These were called "the Psalm Children," and, as they were always kept to dinner, we can be sure that the resources of the house were large.

The education of the children and young people of the community was of the highest order, and two of the nieces, Mary and Anna Collett, especially excelled in the most beautiful needlework, but in less ordinary ways their work was remarkable, notably in the wonderful Books of the Harmony of the Four Gospels which the nieces made.

One of these Harmonies was done by a little girl of twelve. Another of these Harmonies presented to Charles I. can be seen in the British Museum.

Of course this community had enemies. The Puritans were dead against it; they said it was popish (which it was not), and they published a paper condemning it.

Little Gidding was then in the vast diocese of Lincoln, and the Bishop, Dr. Williams, was bound to inquire into the aims and working of the new religious house. He went and examined it and thoroughly approved, for, though himself inclined to Puritanism, he was a broad-minded man who could see beyond the outside to the inward part or thing signified, so he could bid Nicholas God speed.

King Charles I. visited it twice—once in company with Prince Rupert in 1642, when he was delighted with all he saw. And as he left, he said, "Gidding is a happy place; I am glad I have seen it."

Once more he came in April 1646, when, fleeing

from Oxford with two trusty followers, he sought refuge with the Ferrars from his enemies.

But that was in the future.

For twenty years the good work went on, till soon after the King's visit in 1646 the soldiers of Cromwell ransacked the church and house, and, having wrought all the sacrilege and mischief they could, they departed, carrying with them all the plate and furniture in their power, in order to make a full end.

What became of the scattered community we do not know, and it was probably not revived, though some members of it returned to Little Gidding. We can give but a bare outline of the work of this peaceful and holy religious house, but it may lead you to read a longer account of it elsewhere.

Do not forget the Ferrars or Little Gidding. To say nothing of other influences, the lives of the hundred and more "Psalm Children" must have been the better for their early training, and who knows that the effect of it may not live in their descendants even now?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DEATH OF LAUD; AND THE [PRAYER BOOK SILENCED

TO go back to Laud and his work as Archbishop of Canterbury.

He went on with the greatest energy, reforming and building up, in appointing suitable men to vacant sees (one of these appointments was that of Bishop Juxon to London), and, among other good works, restoring the University of Oxford to its former high standing of morals and intellect. As Chancellor of the University he was able to do this thoroughly, and he did it, and all Oxford men owe him a debt of gratitude for evermore.

If we picture the great army of the Church militant of the years between 1621 and 1641, we may see such devoted men as Herbert and Ferrar, and others too numerous to mention, "strong in the Lord and in the power of His might," but above them all stands erect and eager, worn with toil and care, but alert and strong, ready to die for the Church he loves, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who claims and compels our notice. As early as 1629 he was the subject of shameful attacks which were printed and published against him. How does he

bear them? He has been considered proud and haughty and dictatorial, but in his diary we get a glimpse of his soul, and see how humble he was before God. He had felt all the sting and bitterness of injustice, and yet he writes from the depths of a sorely wounded heart: "Lord, I am a grievous sinner; but I beseech Thee, deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause."

This was the spirit in which he met the attacks of his enemies; and the attacks grew hotter and more frequent as the years went on. For the more his eagle eye pierced into the hidden abuses, the more those who had encouraged the abuses resented his thoroughness in the exercise of his duty. When the altar for the Blessed Sacrament was so insufficiently protected that a dog could steal the very bread reserved for Communion, it was surely time to take steps to prevent such a scandal occurring again. But his efforts to promote the simplest reverence were termed superstitious, and his enemies said he was in league with Rome.

But, far from this, he thought that too much favour was shown by the King to Roman Catholics, and he protested against it. This made the Queen angry, and he wrote to his friend Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, that he was between two great factions, "very like corn between two millstones."

To Strafford, his dear friend, he used to unburden his heart. We find him writing in 1636, "They have called my Master by the worst name they have given me, and He has taught me how to bear it."

We can but think that if the Puritans had known his inmost soul they would have hated him less.

There had been no Parliament for eleven years, but in April 1640 it met, only to be dissolved on the 5th of May. But Convocation sat on, and seventeen canons were passed. One of them raised such a storm of opposition that the King ordered Laud to suspend it.

Parliament met again on the 3rd of November 1640, and Laud's day of activity was over. Henceforth he could but pray for the Church he loved so well. But he had saved her in a time of peril, and though yet darker days were in store for her, his teaching was not lost, nor were his efforts to cleanse and uplift in vain in the end, and if only politics had been kept apart from it much sorrow might have been spared. But work done for the glory of God can never be in vain, and we in the twentieth century are reaping in joy the result of the sowing in tears by Laud, the great Archbishop, nearly three hundred years ago; and are inheriting the privileges for which he fought and died.

For he writes in his diary—

"18th December, Friday.—I was accused by the House of Commons for high treason, without any particular charge laid against me. I stayed at Lambeth until the evening to avoid the gazing of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day gave me great comfort. As I went to my barge hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house, for which I bless God and them."

And so the Archbishop was sent as a traitor to the Tower.



INTERIOR OF LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL

But was he a traitor? Let us consider the question.

He was no traitor to the Church, but a loyal and devoted son, upholding her ancient rights and enforcing that reverence and ritual due to the worship of God.

He was no traitor to the King, for he upheld his authority with all his might.

But was he a traitor to the Parliament?

That could scarcely be. He had taken no oath of allegiance to the Parliament, therefore he was no traitor to it.

He was intolerant towards the Puritans, but they were equally intolerant towards the Church. Not that this excuses Laud, but in the conflict, in the matter of intolerance, they met on equal grounds.

But the grounds of complaint were not equal. Laud had behind him centuries of authority, while the Puritan creed was of mushroom growth. The Church which Laud defended was no system of yesterday; it was the old original Church of England for which he fought.

The Puritans fought for liberty to be set free from the Church.

Laud upheld a reverent and decent ceremonial; and he had no mean authority for his belief that such ceremonial was right. We are told that Solomon's Temple was "exceeding magnificent"; it was no new fancy that the best and most beautiful should be used in Divine worship.

Laud had certainly the advantage of antiquity and authority on his side, and he believed in helps to worship; if the Puritan could rise superior to these helps, so much the better for him.

Each was suffering for conscience' sake. But, meanwhile, where was the spirit of the Divine Master, the charity which suffereth long and is kind?

We have seen that Laud and Strafford were dear friends. To give his friend courage when led forth to execution Laud reached up to his prison bars in the Tower and spread forth his hands in blessing. But he was old and worn and feeble. As Strafford passed beneath his window and bade him a last farewell, the Archbishop fell back in a swoon, unable to bear this anguish of parting from one he dearly loved.

With Laud fell the Court of High Commission, and the Act of 1534, which had made the King Supreme Head of the Church, was abolished.

The House of Commons, eager now to undo all the reforms which Laud had enforced, ordered that "commissioners be sent into the several counties to demolish and remove out of churches and chapels all images, altars and tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments and relics of idolatry agreeably to the injunctions of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth."

Terrible was the destruction wrought in cathedral and parish churches in those days. Not only were some of the cathedrals used as stables for the horses of the parliamentary army, but nothing was sacred in the eyes of the soldiers. Brasses were torn off the tombs, the figures of bishop and crusader, of knight and lady suffered mutilation of the most reckless kind. Beautiful old stained glass—now almost a lost art—was smashed to atoms; figures of saints broken or wrenched from their niches; even the sacred mono-

gram, I.H.S., which means nothing more nor less than *Jesus Hominum Salvator*—Jesus the Saviour of men—was defaced wherever possible.

The destruction wrought to the beautiful screens was truly barbarous; it was as wanton as that used by the emissaries of another Cromwell in the destruction of the monasteries a century before.

The village blacksmith of Putney had, in spite of his poverty, bequeathed to his descendants an iron will and purpose, sturdy and sure as the blows of his own hammer and unyielding as the metal of his anvil. Oliver Cromwell, who set himself to abolish the Church and monarchy, was the great-great-grand-nephew of that Thomas Cromwell who in the reign of Henry VIII. carried all before him.

In December 1641 twelve of the bishops were sent to the Tower. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, was already there, and there he remained for eighteen weary years.

Dr. John Cosin had been the first to suffer. As Prebendary of Durham he had repaired and beautified the Cathedral, and had set up the style of service approved by Laud in Peterhouse College Chapel, Cambridge, when he was Master of that College.

On the 13th of February 1642 the bishops were expelled from the House of Lords, and in 1643 the parliamentary army, seeking help from the Scots, paid the price asked for it, which was that Episcopacy should be abolished, and the Church of England reformed after the manner of the continental Protestant Churches. This was called accepting the Solemn League and Covenant.

A number of English Puritan ministers and Scottish Presbyterians then met in Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey; this is known as the Westminster Assembly.

Here they drew up a book of public worship, made out a plan of Church government, drew up a confession of faith instead of the creeds, and composed a catechism which contained those Calvinistic doctrines against which Laud and other staunch members of the English Church had so strongly protested.

But, having got rid of the bishops, there were two other things to do, in order to overturn (as they hoped) the Church of England. On the 4th of January 1645 the Commons abolished the Prayer Book; and on the 10th of the same month Archbishop Laud, its staunch upholder, was beheaded.

He died as he had lived, strong in faith, true to his Church and his King, entreating the forgiveness of God and forgiving his enemies.

The rites of the Church were not denied him; after his life of warfare he was laid to rest in the Church of All Hallows, Barking, on Tower Hill, with our own Church Service, and his friends could be thankful that he slept in peace.

CHAPTER XIX

“THE TROUBLES ”

THE “Directory,” which was to take the place of the Prayer Book, was entirely Presbyterian. No service was to be allowed at the burial of the dead ; no holy days, such as Christmas and Easter, were to be observed ; the use of the Prayer Book in public or private was forbidden. A fine of £1 for the first offence against this order was imposed, for a second offence it would be £10, while any one who offended a third time would be thrown into prison. Every minister was bound to use the Directory, or be fined forty shillings.

Of course, no true Churchman would use the Directory, so now began that stream of ejections of which we read in *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, and which we cannot read unmoved. During the rule of Cromwell eight thousand English clergy were turned out of their benefices.

Their places were filled by Presbyterians and others, and all through those terrible years till 1660 the English Church was in abeyance. She had to stand on one side while her enemies took her place. But she bided her time.

And now that all authority was set at naught the

Puritans themselves were split up into various parties or sects. There were the Independents, a body governing themselves; the Baptists, who would have no one baptized who could not profess himself a believer in what the Westminster catechism set forth; the Quakers, a sect founded by George Fox, who would have nothing to do with sacraments, and who were men of peace, thinking it wrong to fight; and there were the Fifth Monarchy men.

This was a sect who held the belief that our Lord Jesus Christ was about to return to earth and set up a fifth universal monarchy.

The four monarchies that had had their day were: the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. They were extremely bitter against the Royalist party.

Cromwell himself was an Independent, and he would have no one in his army who was not a Puritan; he might be a Baptist or an Independent or a Presbyterian or a Fifth Monarchy man, so long as he was a Puritan. His men were called Roundheads because of their cropped hair, while the Royalists wore flowing locks and plumed hats.

What seems very hard is that the noble name of Patriot was only given to the Parliamentarians. That they fought for their country is true, but surely the Royalists, who fought and died for their King and country, deserved it as much.

The catechisms drawn up by the Westminster Assembly were very long and dry. The Longer Catechism was in one hundred and fifty-seven pages, while the Shorter (still taught to Scottish Presby-

terian children) filled forty pages, and was far beyond the understanding of any child.

King Charles had failed to enforce Episcopacy in Scotland, but some of the Scots still held to it, in spite of all.

The year 1642 had been a sad one for the clergy of the English Church. Too many English Churchmen suffered at the hands of their enemies at this time for us to do more than notice the fact that their sufferings were terrible.

But while the mother country was torn by civil strife and the Church was "in trouble sharp and sore," the colonies in America were growing and flourishing in a remarkable manner. Charles had granted a charter to Massachusetts, and successive bands of pilgrims, about 20,000 in all, had made what was once a wild, uncultivated waste a promising settlement.

They called the whole province New England, and here they built their meeting houses, and established the religious system which prevails there to this day, though now broken up into various sects.

While New England was distinctly a Puritan colony, and remains a Puritan State, Virginia, colonized by such men as the Ferrars, has always clung to Episcopacy; and Maryland was, at first, different from either, inasmuch as it was a settlement for Roman Catholics and any others who desired religious liberty.

The Presbyterian system established in 1646 was not popular except in a few places. London and Lancashire approved it, but they were in the minority.

Some of the livings vacated by the ejected clergy were filled by ministers ordained by the Presbyteries, others by men who had never been ordained at all. Some of the Church clergy were unmolested, so long as they did not use the Prayer Book, but these very often recited the services from memory. Parliament exercised a tyrannous rule over the laity in a manner compared with which the conduct of Laud had been mild.

We cannot name all the good men who took part in the strife. But, of those who upheld the Church and the King we may single out Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, while on the side of the Parliament John Hampden stands out staunch in defence of what he considered the liberties of the people, and Lord Fairfax, to whom all Churchmen owe a debt. For it was he who, being a Yorkshireman, was proud of the beautiful windows in York Minster, and forbade his men to touch them, and thus they were spared when most of the stained windows of our cathedrals and churches were ruthlessly destroyed.

Those and the windows of Fairford near Gloucester are among the few remaining from this terrible time.

All through this woeful period of unrest Charles was vainly trying to hold his own against his enemies. It is no part of this History to determine how he ought to have acted; it is enough for us to know that he was faithful to the Church. "How can we expect God's blessing," he said, "if we relinquish His Church?" And yet we ought not to overlook the fact that it was his arbitrary misgovernment and his weakness in not keeping his promises which caused

his troubles and ultimate downfall. It was not alone his attachment to the Church, though that was an offence to his enemies. It was his lamentable misgovernment which plunged him and the country into such terrible troubles, and made his reign one continued period of unrest.

We see him tossed about from pillar to post, now victorious, now vanquished, now making concessions to the Parliament, now determined not to yield an inch; but all through he is true to the Church—her loyal and devoted son.

Condemned to death by the Parliament as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, no word was said about his religion; but his Parliament knew and his people knew that he could have saved himself if he would have given up his Church.

But this the King would not do.

And his Mother Church did not forsake her faithful son. Dr. Juxon ministered to him in his last hours, and he went to his death cheered by the words appointed for the day in the Lesson, recording his Blessed Master's sufferings and death.

And in that holy fellowship of suffering he met his tragic end.

CHAPTER XX

WAITING IN HOPE

IN spite of his weakness and his arbitrary misgovernment in affairs of the State, Charles I. was in one sense truly a martyr, inasmuch as he could have saved his life by giving up the Church, and was commemorated as such by the English Church for nearly two hundred years. The special service for the 30th of January has now ceased to be used.

But it is not forgotten by loyal hearts who remember that Charles and Archbishop Laud really saved the Church.

There were, however, still many years of unrest to pass through while the Church bided her time, while the dauntless souls who believed that the Church would finally triumph acted up to their belief.

The deprived bishops still ordained clergy to be ready for the time when they should be required. Bishop Hall of Norwich, Bishop Duppa, Bishop Brownrig, with Bishop Skinner, showed their courage in this great work. They were held in secret, these ordinations without which the work of the Church would fail, and a double solemnity must have attached to them when the bishops knew that in thus acting they were perhaps risking their lives.

Then, while parish churches were called Steeple Houses, while Cromwell was appointing Triers to inquire into the conduct of those ministers he had put into the church, lest they should revive forbidden ceremonies and uses, while infants were left unbaptized, and the banns of marriage were published in the market-place, many clergymen recited the prayers and psalms from memory, and celebrated the Holy Communion in secret places, to which the worshippers came under cover of the dark.

Let us glance at the lives of some of the good men of this period.

Of divines some have been mentioned before—Morton, Bishop of Durham, and Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, contemporary with George Herbert, a writer of satires, but more to be remembered by his strong words in favour of Episcopacy, which made him enemies. He had severe trials, and his last days were passed in poverty, but he had a cheerful trust in God, and did not complain. Study was always a great delight to him, and he was ready to preach in any church “till,” we are told, “he was first forbidden by man, and then disenabled by God.”

Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, had been King Charles’ tutor; Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was that King’s faithful friend and comforter to the last. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, had his valuable library seized by the Parliament because he refused to sit in the Westminster Assembly.

Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, imprisoned for eighteen years, John Cosin, Archdeacon of the East Riding, a personal friend of Laud, Henry Hammond,

who collected money to pay for the education of young men at the Universities that they might be ready to take Holy orders when the time should come, Isaac Barrow, and Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Fuller, the Church historian, Dr. Busby, head master of Westminster School, with others more than I have space to mention.

These were all sound Churchmen who in various ways upheld their faith and principles, and when "the troubles" fell like a storm upon the Church some of them became chaplains in private houses.

Jeremy Taylor was a famous theologian. His *Liberty of Prophesying*, a plea for freedom for all who studied the Bible, with one standard of authority—the Apostles' Creed—was deservedly approved when the minds of men were tossed hither and thither by various opinions. But by his *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* he is best known to us.

Some of these men lived to see the Church in her rightful place again; among them were Wren, Juxon, Duppa, Taylor, and Cosin; but Hall died in 1656, and Morton in 1659.

You remember of Bishop Morton that he was the intimate friend of Richard Hooker, of Laud, of Dr. Overall, and others whose views were not the same as his own.

He was a staunch Churchman, who could see both sides of a question, and was possessed of a large-hearted charity and tolerance—a man of most holy life, of whom Nonconformists could speak without bitterness.

John Cosin had this spirit of toleration in common with Morton.

He was born at Norwich in 1596, entered at Caius

College, Cambridge, in 1610. Six years later he became librarian to Overall, Bishop of Norwich, and to his influence Cosin owed much of the Churchmanship so prominent in his after-life. He was Archdeacon of the East Riding and Rector of Elwick in 1625; two years later he published, at the King's request, his *Book of Private Devotions*, for use of the English ladies at Court; in 1634 he was Master of Peterhouse, which, you remember, is the oldest college of Cambridge. In 1641 he was deprived by the House of Commons of his preferments.

From 1642 to 1659 he was living in great poverty in France. Afterwards, in 1660, he was made Bishop of Durham. He died in 1672.

Students of the Prayer Book will not forget Pearson *On the Creed*. John Pearson was Lecturer of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and his matchless work was the substance of Lectures delivered to his parishioners during "the troubles."

The poets of these troubled times must be mentioned. Here are some never-to-be-forgotten names: Milton, Vaughan, Crashaw, Wither, Herrick, Waller, and Henry King, Bishop of Chichester. One name must not be omitted—that of Francis Quarles, whose book of *Emblems* is full of stern and combative faith, and is illustrated by quaint little woodcuts, in which the conflict of the soul with its three great enemies is depicted in very curious fashion.

And so in hope and faith the Church waited through the night of sorrow, and the time came when the words proved true: "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

CHAPTER XXI

END OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD

OLIVER CROMWELL died on the 3rd of September 1658; his son Richard had none of the ability of his father, and soon retired into private life. So, on the 20th of May 1660, Charles II. returned from exile, and English Churchmen breathed again.

Without any disturbance, the Church was allowed to return to her position as the National Church. The exiled bishops returned to their sees. Wren, Bishop of Ely, was released from his imprisonment; Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield, was appointed Archbishop of York, and Brian Duppa was moved from Salisbury to Winchester. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon crowned the King; and on the 28th of October of the same year, 1660, five bishops were consecrated. These were all men of mark: Sheldon, Bishop of London; Morley, Bishop of Worcester; Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich; the saintly Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; and John Cosin, recalled from exile to be made Bishop of Durham.

Seven others were consecrated in December and four more in January of the following year. The

property of the Church which had been taken away was now restored.

But now the difficulty arose as to dealing with the Puritans.

It was certainly not an easy matter to settle. Presbyterians and Independents were bitterly opposed, and there were other sects to reckon with, notably the Quakers and the Fifth Monarchy men. It was impossible for the Church, who held that the Christian life began with baptism, to accept as members Baptists, to whom the baptism of any who could not give an account of their faith was entirely repugnant. The Church could not welcome to her fold Quakers who refused all Sacraments, when she held them to be the appointed means of grace. The Fifth Monarchy men were out of it altogether, for their extraordinary belief had no warrant whatever from Scripture.

The Presbyterians professed no objection to Episcopacy modified so that the bishops were under the rule of the board of Presbyters; Independents refused all government except by themselves.

It was represented to the easygoing King, who at first had issued a general dispensing power, that the circumstances of the time made necessary some additions to the Prayer Book, and he summoned twelve bishops and twelve Puritan ministers to meet at the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy, on the 15th of April 1662, under the presidency of Frewen, Archbishop of York, Dr. Juxon of Canterbury being too old and feeble to attend. This meeting is known as the Savoy Conference.

The Presbyterians desired to have the Church entirely in their power, holding their opinions. It is the Hampton Court Conference over again.

The most prominent Presbyterian of the day was Richard Baxter, a man of holy life, but with some extraordinary views. He was as a firebrand in the opinion of Churchmen, and "pestilent knave" and "meddlesome fellow" were terms often applied to him; and yet he was a most lovable man, and firm as a rock in his principles.

As leader of the Presbyterian party he was chosen as their advocate on this occasion.

He produced a Prayer Book, which in the course of a fortnight he had drawn up, and presented it to the bishops, demanding that they should accept it as the Service Book of the Church of England.

This was, of course, impossible, but the bishops listened to other proposals.

The Litany was to be altered and turned into one long prayer. Lent was to be done away with, and saints' days also. The baptismal service was to be altered, and the sign of the Cross left out; kneeling at the Holy Communion forbidden. The surplice must not be worn, and the word "minister" must be used instead of "priest"; and so many other alterations were to be made that the whole character of the Church would be changed, whose prayers and usages were of most ancient date, though they had been, in a measure, remodelled.

Bishop Cosin was in favour of moderate concessions, and argued with Baxter in a kindly strain, but he would not give in; and one marvels at the conceit

of such a holy man as Baxter, in thinking that this hastily drawn-up book could take the place of the English Prayer Book, with its traditions, its exquisite language, and its scriptural tone.

The bishops and the other divines were very learned men, but Baxter told them in writing, "You are all unacquainted with the subject of which you speak." Many other equally untrue things were written, and when it became clear that the Puritans considered it sinful to teach what the bishops considered it would be equally sinful not to teach, the Conference came to an end on the 25th of July.

It had shown clearly what opinions each side held, and that it was impossible to reconcile them in one Church.

Meanwhile, Convocation had met on the 8th of May, and at once set to work at the task of revising the Prayer Book as seemed necessary in the altered times. It was most carefully done, and though the alterations were many, and there were some additions, the Prayer Book remained in substance what it was before. In its revised form it became law in 1662.

The Preface to the Prayer Book was written by Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, and is moderate and temperate in tone, showing his truly Christian spirit as he speaks of "the late unhappy confusions" which "we are not willing to remember."

The "Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men" was written by Gunning, Bishop of Ely, and directs our thoughts to the heathen nations, as we pray that God's "ways may be made known unto them, His saving health unto all nations."

The General Thanksgiving was written by Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich.

The Prayer for the High Court of Parliament is taken from a prayer supposed to have been written by Laud in 1628, where in anticipation he was certainly praying for his murderers.

There were other alterations and additions. The Authorized Version of the Bible was to be used, except in the Psalter, the Ten Commandments, and the Offertory Sentences, which remained as before, following the Great Bible of the time of Henry VIII.

We can barely touch upon the Collects, except to say that the one for the Third Sunday in Advent was substituted for a much shorter one in the Sarum Missal. It is the work of the revisers of 1662 with Bishop Cosin at their head.

The Collect for St. Stephen's Day, modelled on one of the old Latin Collects, is in its present form probably the work of Cosin himself, and is so beautiful an expression of Christian faith and love that we may believe it came straight from his heart, for he, too, had suffered for the testimony of the Truth of Christ.

The two Ember Week Prayers were now added, though the offering of such petitions is of ancient date.

The prayer "in time of any common plague or sickness" was inserted in 1552, but enlarged in 1662 by Bishop Cosin.

The office of "Public Baptism of Adults" was rendered necessary by the neglect of that Sacrament during the Troubles, through which many children had grown up unbaptized.

In the Preface to the Prayer Book Bishop Sanderson refers to the necessity for it, and says it "may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith."

It was chiefly drawn up by Bishop Griffith of St. Asaph.

In this year 1661 the Corporation Act was passed which affected all members of corporations. The worst part of it was that it forbade any one to take office who had not within a year before "taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England."

This was a really dreadful thing to enforce, as it degraded the highest service of all, the Holy Eucharist, and made it the stepping-stone to worldly advantage.

Then came the new Act of Uniformity. This was still more severe than the two former Acts. By it, any clergyman holding a living or benefice must use the service as laid down in the Prayer Book, and promise his assent to everything contained in it. And this was to be done before the 24th of August 1662, or he would be ejected from his living.

This was certainly a hard measure, but the only one that seemed possible at the time.

The Church had been cruelly used by the Puritans—her churches mutilated, defaced, and nearly ruined, her rightful clergy turned out to the number of eight thousand, while those who had no regard for her rights, and often scoffed at her doctrines, were thrust into their places, and now was the time for restoration.

So on the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's Day,

1662, two thousand of the usurping clergy, who refused to subscribe to the Act, were turned out of their livings, as their predecessors had been before them. The day has lived ever since in the minds of Nonconformists as "Black Bartholomew" — while many have ignored the fact that they had really no right to the livings from which they were ejected.

But it was a harsh measure, and one wonders whether some milder means could not have been used.

But we may hope that those whom the Act restored, who had been waiting to return, were more lenient than the Act itself, and that they felt for those on whom it pressed so heavily.

Two thousand ministers (many of them unordained) were then ejected; a quarter of the number of rightful clergy turned out by Cromwell.

The rigour of Parliament did not stop with the Act of Uniformity. In 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed.

The word "conventicle" really means "a small assembly," and the Nonconformists used to hold meetings in private houses for prayer and worship and study of the Bible. It is true that in the strained condition of feeling and opinion there was some danger of plots in these meetings, though, as a rule, they were innocent enough. But the Conventicle Act forbade any assembly in a private house of more than four grown-up persons beyond the inhabitants. Any person breaking this law was to be fined £5 for a first offence, £10 for a second, and so on, in proportion to the number of offences. If the fine was not paid, the offender was to be imprisoned.

Finally, Clarendon's Parliament passed the Five Mile Act of 1665, which ordered that no Nonconformist minister should come within five miles of any place where he had been minister (except when travelling), under the severe penalty of £40, unless he would take an oath never to bear arms against the King.

The year 1665 was the year of the Great Plague. Some of the foes of the Church have stated that the Anglican clergy fled and left the ejected Presbyterian ministers to attend to the sick and dying. But this is not true. We have ample testimony that though a few may have deserted their posts, and those few were severely reprimanded by the Bishop of London and ordered to return, yet that the greater part were faithful and even some churches were kept open for daily prayers, and that the services were attended.

It was an awful time, but it drew together in some cases the rightful clergy and those who had been ejected, united in the common cause of Christian charity for the love of the same great Master—Christ.

There is an interesting record of this unity of loving purpose and help in the thrilling story of the plague at Eyam—a quiet, secluded village among the Derbyshire hills.¹

Here, through a time of terrible suffering, William Mompesson, the rightful rector, and Thomas Stanley, the ejected Nonconformist minister, worked side by side.

No power could induce either of these brave men

¹ See *The Brave Men of Eyam*, S.P.C.K.

to leave the village. Faithful to their "vocation and ministry," they served God in the time of pestilence, and the names of the two ministers of God at Eyam are remembered for evermore.

We may believe this was no isolated case. The Uniformity Act was more harsh than those who were bound to obey it; but we must all be thankful that those painful days are over, and that the Reformation period with all its woes and struggles came to an end in 1662.

CHAPTER XXII

SOME FAMOUS PURITANS

RICHARD BAXTER, the most important of the Presbyterians, claimed the utmost toleration for himself and his principles, and was at the same time one of the most intolerant of men. Yet, at heart, he was truly kind and friendly to persons who opposed him.

Then, though like all Nonconformists he was on the side of the Parliament, yet in his book called *The Holy Commonwealth* he upheld the cause of monarchy, which is truly inconsistent.

But when we consider Baxter from all points, when we read his *Saint's Rest*, and see how stainless was the life he led, it is impossible to think otherwise than kindly of him, and not to resent his cruel imprisonment by Judge Jeffreys.

For, whatever were his inconsistencies, his life was saintly, and it is hard for us to think of him as a stirrer-up of strife if we love those verses from his *Saint's Rest*, now in most of our hymn books, one verse of which we may quote—

“Christ leads me through no darker rooms
Than He went through before :
He who unto Christ's Kingdom comes
Must enter by the door.”

Baxter was seventy-six years of age when he passed through that door.

During the year of the Plague, 1665, the poet Milton and his family left London and retired to a cottage at Chalfont St. Giles, in leafy Buckinghamshire, where he partly composed his wonderful poem, *Paradise Lost*. Here he saw much of the Ellwoods, a Quaker family who lived near, and whose burial-place is the little burial-ground of the Friends at Jordans, not far off.

Other Quakers dwelt near Chalfont at a later time. One of them, William Penn, offended his father by becoming a Quaker, though, at last, he forgave him for forsaking the Church, and when he died in 1670, William inherited his property.

He is known to us as the founder of one of the American colonies, to which he gave the name of Pennsylvania, whither he went to find liberty for his religious opinions.

The Great Fire in 1666 swept clean the wretched lanes and alleys in London where infection lingered, but destroyed the beautiful Cathedral, Old St. Paul's, and ninety churches. All the city was burnt from the Tower to the Temple, and from Smithfield to the Thames.

John Evelyn, a good Churchman of those days, wrote a most interesting *Diary*, which gives a graphic account of this terrible event, and also relates very much which makes us realize clearly the condition of affairs in Church and State. He was born in 1620 and died in 1706, so that he lived through a very eventful time.

It may safely be stated that for one person who

has understood and taken pleasure in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, there have been a thousand who have loved the work of another Puritan writer, John Bunyan, born in 1628.

His undying work, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is one of the greatest books in the English language, beloved alike of Churchmen and Dissenters, and those are to be pitied who do not know its charm.

Charles II. made two efforts for toleration: one in 1662, another in 1667, and in 1672 he issued a Declaration of indulgence, suspending all penalties affecting Nonconformists, and granting to Roman Catholics permission for Mass to be said in private houses.

But Parliament, afraid that the Puritan party would once again upset the Government, insisted on the withdrawal of this indulgence, and issued the Test Act.

This was of the nature of the Corporation Act of 1661, and obliged every one who wished for any office to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England.

This Act affected Roman Catholics as well as Nonconformists, and for a hundred and fifty years it was the law of the land. A most hurtful law, cruel to good and able men by excluding them from office; and sacrilegious, inasmuch as it profaned the holiest service of all.

The rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral was commenced in 1675, by Sir Christopher Wren, not after its old and most beautiful style, but after the Italian manner. Fifty-one churches were built on his plans.

Lichfield Cathedral was almost rebuilt in this reign, and large sums were spent upon Salisbury and Exeter, while parish churches were restored or rebuilt after the shocking usage to which they had been exposed.

Charles II. appears to us as a man of no religion—given up to evil pleasure, and showing no gratitude to God, and very little to man, for his wonderful preservation from great dangers and for his restoration to his rightful throne. The record of his life and death must always be sad in the eyes of all good men.

Though nominally a member of the Church of England and upholding her rights, he was a Roman Catholic at heart, and on his death-bed he received the Blessed Sacrament from a priest of the Romish Church and died a member of that Communion.

In all the prominent Churchmen of the Restoration period the influence of Laud could be seen. He had done his best to build up the Church; and he had not worked in vain.

Juxon, the faithful friend of Charles I., died in 1664. His successor at Canterbury was Gilbert Sheldon, a statesman-bishop, of courage and wisdom, but not spiritually minded, and, believing that the religion of the Puritans was more cant than sincerity, he was very hard upon them, and in his rule there was too much of political feeling. But in some respects he worked well for the Church. He died in 1678.

He was succeeded by William Sancroft, a man of very different type, equally strong, but much more spiritual.



WELLS CATHEDRAL

Other famous Churchmen there were, too numerous to mention, but we must not omit Thomas Ken, who had the courage to reprove the King for his sinful life.

Charles did not resent his reproof, in fact he admired the bishop's courage, and appointed him to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.

The Royal Society was founded in this reign. It was established for the study of science, and numbered among its members many religious men who sought out the wonderful workings of God in nature.

In connection with it we may mention the names of Flamsteed, Halley, Boyle, and Sir Isaac Newton.

The King died in 1685.

CHAPTER XXIII

JAMES II. AND THE SEVEN BISHOPS

JAMES II., at his first Council, declared that he would always defend and support the Church of England. But he soon showed that he meant to establish his own Roman Catholic religion.

Louis XIV. of France, who had been a great friend to the English Royal family in exile, begged him to be careful, and even the Pope warned him against making the attempt.

But warnings were in vain. In his first year as King he repealed the Test Act. This, in itself, would have been a thing to be desired, but it was illegal to repeal any law without the consent of Parliament.

Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, courageously told the King this was illegal, and he was dismissed from his office of Dean of the Chapel Royal.

James was deaf to reason. Soon Roman Catholics filled important offices, he placed Jesuits, Benedictine monks, Franciscans, and Carmelites in London, and appointed Roman Catholic clergy to English preferments.

Then he revived the Court of High Commission, with Jeffreys, the cruel Lord Chancellor, as President,

and by this Court, Compton, Bishop of London, was suspended.

Then the King attacked the Universities. He knew they were the training schools of the English clergy, and he meant to bring them over to his side.

But this was not easy. A layman was made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; but the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge refused to break the law, and was deprived of his office.

Then he turned to Magdalen College, Oxford, which had just lost its President. James ordered the Fellows to appoint a Roman Catholic of his choosing.

This the Fellows refused to do, and elected Dr. Hough, one of their own number. But Dr. Hough and two of the Fellows were suspended by the High Commission Court, and in November 1687 the same Court deprived all the Fellows.

The new Roman Catholic President lived but a short time, and at his death the College was filled with "popish priests and others of the Roman Communion," and the chapel was used for services according to the rites of the Church of Rome.

England, naturally, admired the courage of the rightful President and Fellows of William of Waynflete's beautiful College; and for ever its name will be held in honour as standing in the forefront of those who resisted the King's unlawful acts. Later on, Dr. Hough and the Fellows were restored amid general rejoicing.

Then the King went further still, and published *A Declaration for liberty of Conscience*.

Now, this seemed a charitable Act, but English people, made clear-sighted by what had gone before, saw through it. It was meant to be the thin end of the wedge; once let this Declaration become law, and it would mean the destruction of the Church. The bishops, chief among them the saintly Ken and the learned Frampton, were prepared to stand fast.

James thought them all cowards, but they were brave men, as he was soon to see; for, having published his Declaration, he ordered it to be read in every church on two successive Sundays.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sancroft) then called a meeting, which was attended by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, Dr. Lloyd of St. Asaph, Dr. Turner of Ely, Dr. Lake of Chichester, Dr. Ken of Bath and Wells, Sir John Trelawney of Bristol, and Dr. White of Peterborough.

Remember the names. They were all noble, honourable men—fine specimens of the courage and faith of Churchmen at a most critical time. Other important clergymen were with them, whose names are to be had in honour: the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson; the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Stillingfleet; the Dean of Peterborough, Dr. Patrick; Tenison, the Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; Grove, Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, in the city; and Sherlock, Master of the Temple.

The discussions lasted a week, and then Sancroft drew up a petition which the other bishops approved; the Archbishop wrote it himself, and the other bishops signed it.

The petition simply expressed in loyal and

moderate language the bishops' dislike to publish the King's Declaration, not only because it was founded on a dispensing power which had been declared by Parliament to be illegal; but that they felt it would be harmful to the whole nation, and they said they could not "in prudence, honour, or conscience" make themselves parties to it, as they would if it were published all over the kingdom.

Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, could not arrive in time to sign the petition, and the others could not wait for him. It was past ten o'clock at night when the brave Churchmen sought an audience of the King, and presented the petition. Sancroft, being out of favour, could not present it.

James was furious as he read the petition, and recognized Sancroft's writing; and he exclaimed hotly: "This is a standard of rebellion; I did not expect such usage from the Church of England!"

Then Trelawney and Ken spoke out bravely: "We will honour you," they said, "but we must fear God."

"I will be obeyed," said James, in his anger; upon which the two bishops answered: "God's Will be done!"

Most of the clergy supported the bishops, and on the Sunday following, in all London only four clergymen read the Declaration.

At Westminster Abbey when the Dean began to read it, the congregation left their seats, and he finished it to the choir and the boys of Westminster School.

In the whole of England about thirty read it that first Sunday and still fewer on the next.

Then James determined to punish the seven bishops; and on the 8th of June they were summoned before the council, and because they would not withdraw from their position they were sent to the Tower.

They went by water, and the banks of the Thames were lined with hundreds of people, striving to see the heroic men who had the courage to obey God rather than man.

It was a strange sight. There was no Thames Embankment in those days; the paths by the river-side were of black mud. What matter? The souls of the multitude were stirred within them, and they knelt as the bishops passed and craved their blessing.

As they reached the Tower, the bell for Evensong sounded clearly over the water, and the people thronged in after them.

Then were read those stirring words of St. Paul, calling them to suffer and glorify God "in much patience, in affliction, in distresses," whereupon they thanked God.

On the 10th of June, while the bishops were in prison, a little son was born to James II. and his Queen, Mary Beatrice. This son, whose name was James, was known later in most histories as the Old Pretender.

Bishop Frampton was with the other bishops daily, his strong, courageous soul helping them to rise to the greatest height of sacrifice. The people would press round him daily and ask his benediction. It was as if the days of St. Chad and St. Aidan were

revived, or those of good St. Hugh of Lincoln, when people were not ashamed to own that the bishops were their fathers in God.

Not for many a year had the hearts of men been so profoundly stirred. The trial was fixed for St. Peter's Day, the 29th of June, and we may be sure the services for the day helped to sustain the heroic seven, especially that record in the Epistle of Peter in prison: "And, behold, the angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison; and he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying, 'Arise up quickly.' And his chains fell off from his hands."

On their way from the Tower to Westminster Hall, the river-banks were again crowded with spectators waiting to be blessed as the bishops passed.

They were tried for having written "under pretence of a petition, a certain false, pernicious, and scandalous libel."

A libel, as we understand it, is a very wrong and scandalous thing and deserves severe punishment.

Therefore, when we consider how mild and temperate were the words of the petition, the term "libel," when applied to it, strikes us as most unjust, and we cannot wonder that the judges were divided in their opinion about it. The jury were also unable to agree, and were locked up all night.

But at ten o'clock the next morning they came into court, and amidst a breathless silence gave their verdict—*Not guilty*.

Then burst forth a shout of joy, which rang

through Westminster Hall, and was echoed back from the roof, and sounded through the windows and was caught up by the crowd outside, and resounded far and near, even as far as the camp of Hounslow where the King had just been holding a review, and had scarcely left when the deafening cheers arose from the soldiers as a messenger brought the tidings.

Meanwhile the seven bishops went home quietly and thankfully, even as St. Peter may have done when he knocked at the door of a house where many were gathered together praying.

We all know the simple yet beautiful story in the Acts of the Apostles, and can see how again in the case of the seven bishops the Great Head of the Church let the oppressed go free.

- That night bonfires lit up the sky; afterwards a medal was struck in honour of the victory, and Sancroft was looked upon as the champion of freedom for the English State and Church.

The bishops returned quietly to their spiritual work. But Sancroft wrote many instructions to the clergy and people to be cautious as to whom they received into their confidence. He knew there were popish emissaries in the garb of English Churchmen ready to work harm, but he urged the clergy "to have a very tender regard towards our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters."

The Church had grown stronger through opposition, many Nonconformists were brought back to her fold, and it is probable that more would have returned, but for the unhappy influence of the next

reign, which introduced dissensions into the Church where, for many years, its members had been of one mind.

For the trial of the bishops and their acquittal had been the death-blow to the power of James. He would neither listen to reason nor be content with the assurances of loyalty that were made to him.

Certain of the most important of his subjects, seeing that the country would go to rack and ruin if strong measures were not taken, invited over the King's nephew, William Prince of Orange, who was his son-in-law, having married Mary, the elder of his two daughters.

James had been a most unwise King, but he was a very indulgent and affectionate father. And we can but feel deeply for him when, on hearing that his favourite daughter Anne had gone over to the enemy, he burst into tears and exclaimed in an agony, "God help me! for my own children have forsaken me."

On the 5th of November William of Orange landed at Torbay.

Sancroft did his best to save the kingdom for James, but all his efforts were in vain. On the 10th of December the Queen fled with the infant prince. James followed the next day, and nothing more could be done.

Sancroft refused to wait on William, nor would he take his place in the House of Lords. He knew what this would cost him, but he stood firm.

He would not acknowledge William and Mary as King and Queen, for he said as long as James was alive no other person could be sovereign in this country.

As to the two undutiful daughters of the exiled King, their consciences could not have been very easy; and Mary must have felt a pang when, on asking the Archbishop for his blessing, he replied that his blessing could do her no good so long as she did not seek that of her father.

His was a dauntless soul, to be had in honour for ever of all loyal Churchmen, and he was faithful to the end.

CHAPTER XXIV

NEW DANGERS AND FRESH EFFORTS

THE greater part of the reign of William of Orange was taken up with creating divisions, and making vain efforts to settle them.

For some years there had been no divisions in the Church. During the reign of Charles II. the number of famous Churchmen was great, and it was full of life and energy. The "unhappy divisions" seemed to have been smoothed away; the Church went her own way, the Nonconformists went theirs. At times they worked together for the common good, and the feeling of enmity was only directed against systems, not against individuals.

But with the accession of William and Mary, divisions were painfully revived. And political feeling went hand in hand with religious views, so that the Church suffered for her adherence to her principles.

Archbishop Sancroft had strong opinions on the nature of an oath. He had sworn allegiance to King James, and while James was living he maintained that it would be wrong for him to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, so he refused to do it.

William was a Dutch Calvinist, while his wife

belonged to the English Church and had been well trained in its history and its system by good Churchmen, and even by Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

William, as a Presbyterian, disliked the Church system, especially as it was represented by Sancroft and Ken; and he saw what stuff they were made of when they, with others, in all eight bishops, refused to take the oath of allegiance.

For this refusal they are known as *non-jurors*—from two Latin words meaning those who do not take an oath.

Five of these had already suffered for conscience' sake, and had been imprisoned in the Tower. These were Sancroft, Turner, Lake, Ken, and White, with Frampton of Gloucester, Thomas of Worcester, and Lloyd of Norwich added to their number.

Seeing the courage of these men, he wished to modify the spirit of the Church, and to make it more elastic by including Nonconformists, so a *Comprehension Bill* was introduced in the House of Lords, but the Commons would have nothing to do with it, because it was a question for Convocation.

Then a Commission was formed with a view to altering the Prayer Book to please the Nonconformists. It seemed as if the Prayer Book was never to be allowed to rest. But those who loved it were not going to give up what had been fought for so bravely, so when Convocation assembled, nothing was done, and the Comprehension Bill died a natural death.

Convocation did not meet again for business for ten years.

It was clearly seen that, however much men might

wish that the Mother Church should gather all the sects to her safe keeping, it was absolutely impossible to do it.

In primitive days, which we may consider the childhood of the Church, all her children looked up to her and were obedient to her rules. As the centuries passed, it was as if the children had grown up, and now had their own ideas and plans and wished for more breadth and freedom.

The Church was slowly learning this, and in 1689 the Toleration Act was passed, which lightened the burdens of Protestant orthodox Nonconformists. By orthodox (meaning right doctrine) we understand those Dissenters who could subscribe to as many of the Thirty-nine Articles as referred to the doctrine of the Godhead.

The Act was incomplete, as it only gave freedom in religious matters, but it was a step in the right direction and was received with thankfulness.

Gilbert Burnet, one of William's chaplains, his principal adviser, was the first man he promoted to a bishopric. He was by birth and education a Scotch Presbyterian, and the effects of his early training always remained with him.

With the abdication of James II. two parties arose in the Church, as in the political world. In the Church those who upheld the rightful succession were called High Churchmen and Tories. Those who supported William were called Low Churchmen and Whigs.

The term High Churchmen needs no explanation to those who have read of Laud and Andrewes and Cosin and the seven bishops; but it is necessary

to say that Low Church in those days had a very different meaning from what it has now.

In our days a spiritual religion giving less importance to forms and ceremonies we know as Low Churchism; but then it was not so much spiritual as moral. Those Low Churchmen, though living good lives, were so broad in their views that they were not always orthodox. They would now be called Broad Churchmen; in the days of William III. they were called Latitudinarians.

This is not difficult to understand for those who know that latitude means breadth. A man who requires great breadth in his opinions is apt to consider the doctrines and rules of the Church too narrow, and so is in danger of becoming a heretic; objecting to authority, he soon begins to make too much of his own opinions, and sometimes he ends in believing little or nothing.

This was the danger which now threatened the Church.

As to the terms Whig and Tory, they are so very obscure, it is best, here, to be content with knowing that a Tory was usually, but not necessarily, a High Churchman and a Jacobite, an adherent of James; and a Whig was usually a Low Churchman, and on the side of William.

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, a Low Churchman and a Whig, is known to us by his *History of His Own Times*, which must be read with caution and reserve, as he was very one-sided.

He had really a desire to promote religion, and wished to see men in the dioceses who would uphold

his views, which he thought the only right ones; but he was a bustling, interfering sort of man, and liked putting others to rights. He was not the best adviser William could have had, for he put down nearly all who had been of the greatest influence in the Church, except Simon Patrick, John Sharp, and Edward Stillingfleet, and the heroic President of Magdalen College, John Hough, who was appointed to the bishopric of Oxford.

It was rather hard for Compton, Bishop of London, who had been at the head of Church affairs since the Revolution, to be passed over for John Tillotson, who, at the time of his promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was Dean of St. Paul's; but, though the King had confidence in Compton, he had far more in Burnet and Tillotson.

These two were both Latitudinarians, but where Burnet was thick-skinned and self-sufficient, Tillotson was sensitive and humble. He was a great preacher, and it was through his influence that John Sharp was made Archbishop of York—an appointment much to his credit, for Dr. Sharp's character was of the highest, and his powers very great. His goodness made him beloved by those opposed to him in Church matters, for he was a High Churchman.

Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, ranks high as scholar and clergyman, and Patrick, Bishop of Ely, had been an excellent parish priest.

The non-juring bishops were deprived, and other bishops put in their places. With the eight bishops were about four hundred of the clergy who accepted poverty rather than forswear themselves.

Two of the deprived bishops, Thomas of Worcester and Lake of Chichester, died before the order was issued, and White of Peterborough before it was put in force.

Sancroft retired to his native village of Fressingfield in Suffolk, and employed himself in ministering to the non-juring laity and in preparing for the press the papers of Archbishop Laud.

Sancroft is described by one of his friends as "the most pious, humble, good Christian I ever knew in my life." All who love the Church must see in him one of her noblest servants, who at a great sacrifice showed his determination to honour God rather than man.

After Sancroft, perhaps scarcely second to him, the non-jurors loved Ken, the saintly Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been brave enough to reprove both Charles II. and William of Orange for their evil lives. To many of us he is known by his Morning and Evening Hymns.

He wrote other hymns, but none have so taken hold of our hearts as these two. Set to a tune by Tallis, who was organist to Henry VIII. and his three successors, the Evening Hymn is familiar to us all.

If you have seen an old Prayer Book, perhaps fifty years old, you will have noticed at the end several pages full of verses, and on the title-page you read—

A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in Churches. By Nicholas Brady, D.D., chaplain in ordinary, and Nahum Tate, Esq., Poet Laureat to His Majesty.

Tate was a friend of the poet Dryden, and wrote the last part of *Absalom and Achitophel*.

When telling you about Sternhold and Hopkins I said it was a risky thing to paraphrase the Psalms. And truly their Version (called the Old Version) has many quaint verses, and the Psalms from it are seldom used now; always excepting the dear Old Hundredth, which will never die out of its place in English hearts.

But what suited the public taste in 1562 was considered out of date in 1696; and though, if we did not know of *Absalom and Achitophel*, we might be inclined to wonder by what display of genius Nahum Tate, Esq., should have been raised to the office of Laureate—still, there are among the verses of Tate and Brady some which we shall not willingly let die.

The 34th Psalm, for instance, and several others, besides the dear old Christmas hymn—

“While shepherds watched their flocks by night.”

We can overlook a great deal of doggerel in the pages of the New Version for the sake of these.

And so, as a part of Church History we mention it; for hymns take hold of our hearts in a wonderful way, and help our spiritual life; and several generations sang these verses to the accompaniment of the organ in large churches, while in the villages the choir in the West Gallery with fiddle, bassoon, and ophicleide made music in the ears of the rustic congregation and uplifted their souls to Heaven.

Henry Purcell, a musician of high rank, died in 1695 at the age of thirty-seven. It is as a sacred

musician that we know him best. In any cathedral Anthem Book you will find his name.

I must tell you that in 1678, two London clergymen, Dr. Horneck at the Savoy Chapel, and Mr. Smythies at St. Michael's, Cornhill, preached such stirring sermons that they stirred up many young men of the middle class to lead good lives, following the teaching of the Church, and doing Christian work among the poor.

They formed themselves into societies, with Horneck, Smythies, Beveridge, and Dr. Bray at their head; and from their small efforts at the beginning, the work spread and was going on, not only in London, but in other parts of the country in 1695, when Tillotson was dead and Thomas Tenison was Archbishop of Canterbury.

Tenison had been Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and perhaps, as he was not sensitive like Tillotson, he was more fitted to be Primate. But Stillingfleet would have better filled the important post, only Burnet thought "both his notions and temper were too high," so he was passed over, though Queen Mary, who was friendly with both parties in the Church, desired his appointment.

Tillotson died in 1694, and the Queen a few weeks later, and in the next year the results of the societies formed in the reign of Charles II. were clearly seen.

From the days of Laud and of Nicholas Ferrar the elder, efforts had been made to carry the Light of Truth to the workers in the plantations and to the negro slaves. Splendid work had been done in the

East Indies by the Roman priest, St. Francis Xavier, at Goa, where he founded a large Christian settlement, but the English Church had not penetrated in that direction; Goa was under Portuguese government, and it had rightly looked after its own people. This is what the English Church wished to do with our own colonists.

The Puritan settlers in New England and Philadelphia had not been slow to teach their belief, but they disagreed among themselves, and were split up into other sects. The apostle to the Indians, John Eliot, did a great work, but, except in Virginia and Jamaica, the Church had not taken hold, but now a more direct effort was made.

Dr. Thomas Bray, who had been among the foremost supporters of the religious societies, was in 1695 appointed commissary to Compton, Bishop of London, to Maryland.

The people there were not all settlers of their own free will. Many of the Royalist soldiers, who had been taken as prisoners by Cromwell's army, had been shipped off to the plantations, where they worked as hard as any of the negro slaves from the African coasts.

It was easy to see that the early inhabitants of Maryland who survived, and their descendants, needed missionaries to teach them, and Dr. Bray was glad to be chosen for the good work.

But, in seeking out missionaries to go with him, he found that only poor men would go, who could not afford to buy the necessary books. This led to a scheme for providing parochial libraries.

Soon the aims and desires of Dr. Bray and others, Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Mr. Justice Hook, and Colonel Maynard Chichester, took shape and form in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is now generally known as the S.P.C.K.

It was a noble scheme, and it soon included libraries at home and abroad, charity schools, missions to colonists and the heathen, and the five members agreed to contribute £12 towards the printing of religious books for the poor; while it is worthy of notice that efforts had already been made for lending libraries in Maryland.

Later on, in 1705, the Society began to supply the poor with Bibles and Prayer Books at a cheap price.

Men of both parties wished to help a society which was for the whole Church, not for a part of it. Tenison and Burnet and others of their views worked with Patrick and Lloyd and Thomas Wilson, Robert Nelson and Samuel Wesley; while laymen, among them Blackmore, a bencher of the Temple, Gilbert White, the naturalist of Selborne, John Evelyn (of whose *Diary* I have told you), and other great and good men swelled its ranks. It is the oldest of all our Church societies, and does a splendid work, being absolutely true to its title.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, our S.P.G., was really an offshoot of the S.P.C.K.

Dr. Bray had found in Maryland that more was required than one society could supply. He proposed that a society should be formed for missions alone,

and those missions to be to the foreign possessions of the British Empire.

By the exertions of Dr. Bray, of Archbishop Tenison, and Bishop Compton, a Royal Charter was obtained, and in 1701 the Society was an accomplished fact—established first to teach “our own people in the foreign plantations, and then to proceed, in the best methods they can, towards the conversion of the natives.”

With the establishment of these two noble Societies this chapter may fitly end. Danger was threatening the Church from the divisions within, but the great vital power it possessed—a power, assuredly the gift of the Holy Spirit—arose to combat the dangers; and after all its turmoil and strife the seventeenth century ended in hope, and enthusiasm, and trust.

CHAPTER XXV

QUEEN ANNE'S JUSTICE

IN 1701 James II. died; William of Orange died in 1702, and James's daughter Anne came to the throne.

Queen Anne is not a person for whom one can feel the highest regard; but she deserves the gratitude of the Church. She was weak and easily influenced, but her reign was full of Church activity, of real spiritual life in its members, and is also noticeable for the number of societies founded all over the country for the deepening of spiritual life and promoting benevolence towards the poor.

Anne chose Sharp, Archbishop of York, to preach the sermon at her coronation instead of Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. This pleased the High Church party, and we must remember that nearly all High Churchmen were Tories as well, so it showed the line in politics which the Queen meant to take. The strife of parties raged during this reign; for many of the Tories hoped that the Stuart line would be continued when this reign came to an end.

You remember that in the fourteenth century the Popes insisted upon having the whole of the first year's income of many bishoprics or livings, and the

tenth of every succeeding year; and that these payments were called first-fruits and annates.

In Henry VIII.'s reign these annates and first-fruits were refused to the Pope by the King, who enriched his own coffers with them. Queen Mary very rightly restored them to the Church, but her money-loving sister took them back again, and nothing had since been done to remedy this injustice.

However, Queen Anne may be allowed the title of "Good" for the act of common justice to the Church, by which she celebrated her birthday of the 6th of February 1704, when she announced to the House of Commons that she had remitted the arrears of tenths to the poor clergy; and that she would "henceforth make and grant the whole of her revenue from first-fruits and tenths to the augmentation of poor livings."

The sum amounted to £16,000 a year, and is known as Queen Anne's Bounty. Considering that that sovereign had no right whatever to the money, and that it was really sacrilegious spoil, it ought to be termed "Justice," not "Bounty." But, inasmuch as we honour justice, we must honour Queen Anne, and remember her with gratitude. You will often hear of Queen Anne's Bounty, and it will remind you of a noble deed.

But the Queen now came under the Whig and Low Church influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the differences grew, and a cry arose that the Church was in danger.

The question was solemnly discussed in the House of Lords, and the Upper House of Convocation drew up an address to be presented to the Queen, the

bishops being mostly Whigs and Low Churchmen ; but the Lower House, thinking there was great truth in the cry, would have nothing to do with the address. The clergy in the Lower House were mostly Tories and High Churchmen.

Then the Queen said Convocation must be prorogued.

This was quite an extraordinary thing to do, but the Archbishop saw thus the only way out of the difficulty, so the wishes of the Queen were carried out. The clergy were greatly annoyed, and returned to their homes with a very real grievance.

All through the country there arose the fear that the Church was in danger, and Dr. Sacheverell, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, who had preached two sermons on the subject in hot and stirring language, was impeached "at the bar of the Lords in the name of all the Commons of England."

The Whig party being in power, they thought by this action they would stem the current of High Churchism. But they made a mistake. The result of the trial had quite a contrary effect upon Church politics. The reigning party for more than fifty years was that of the High Church ; but, after all, the matter was more political than religious.

The year 1710 has a peaceful record in the fact that on the 10th of October of that year the first English Church service at Annapolis near Halifax in Nova Scotia was celebrated ; it was an epoch in the history of our missions.

Annapolis was originally called Port Royal, but it



THE OLD FORT AT ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, NOVA SCOTIA, THE SCENE OF THE FIRST CHURCH SERVICE IN CANADA
ACCORDING TO THE ENGLISH RITE. OCTOBER 10, 1710

was captured by the British Arms and renamed Annapolis after Queen Anne. Port Royal had been the scene of fourteen battles and sieges since 1604. It came finally into the hands of the English in 1713.

But three years before that date, Annapolis, being under the British flag, a service according to the English rule had been held in a building within the Old Fort by the Rev. Mr. Harrison, chaplain to the Garrison. The Rev. Thomas Wood was the first S.P.C. missionary in the western part of the province.

When the new Parliament met that year, an Act strongly urged by both Houses of Convocation was passed with the warm approval of the Queen, for the building of fifty-two new churches.

This was a grand project ; and the sum of £350,000 was voted towards this scheme. But it was never fully carried out, for of the fifty-two churches only twelve were built, and a few others repaired.

With regard to St. Paul's, which was completed in 1710, we must remember that its famous architect, Sir Christopher Wren, was a nephew of Matthew Wren, Bishop first of Ely and then of Norwich, who was imprisoned in the Tower for more than eighteen years.

Many theologians adorned the reign of Anne—Joshua Bingham, author of *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Humphrey Prideaux, who wrote *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, and many others.

As a rule, the writings of the divines do not equal those of the seventeenth century, but they are very

good of their kind. A *Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church*, by Robert Nelson, the non-juror, was published in 1704, and has not even now fallen into disuse.

Robert Nelson was most energetic in Church work and in schemes for raising the spiritual tone of Churchmen. Small societies were founded in country parishes. These societies would have been called guilds in the Middle Ages, as we should again call them now. Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, one of the first members of the S.P.C.K., had a society for his parish, as had other less well-known clergymen. Daily services were held in many churches, the fasts and festivals were duly kept, and, above all, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated much more frequently—in some places, every week.

When the Court was in London, the Holy Communion was celebrated twice on Sundays, at eight and twelve. At St. Lawrence, Jewry, where a great-nephew of Nicholas Ferrar was Vicar, the hour was at six, though the usual hours in London churches were seven and eight. In many churches the altar was hung with beautiful cloths, copes were worn in cathedral churches, and incense was burnt on solemn occasions.

It was customary and really right to wear the black gown when preaching at Matins and Evensong, so that, when on one occasion a clergyman broke through this rule, one of the congregation was filled with pity "to see the folly of the man"; but he added, "If he preach in a fool's coat we will go and hear him."

This says much for the quality of the sermons, and, indeed, preaching had need have been very first-rate, when we hear that the famous Isaac Barrow preached a charity sermon before the Lord Mayor which lasted three hours and a half!

Everything recorded in this reign tends to show us that there was not only great activity in Church matters, but much real devotion and spiritual life.

The time of the Troubles had pressed very heavily on the Church in Wales.

We must never forget that there was a flourishing Church in Wales long before the English Church was founded in 597. The old British Church driven westward by the Saxons had found its refuge among the early Christians of Wales and Cornwall, and but for a regrettable omission on the part of Augustine when he met the Welsh bishops, might have been united with the English Church long before the two became one.

The History of the Welsh Church is so interesting that it ought to have a volume to itself. But here it must be enough to say that it was struggling on, though the worst days of its suffering were over. It had always had difficulties, because a Welshman, or one at least who understood Welsh, ought always to have filled a diocese in Wales; but this was not the case. Many of the Welsh clergy were not learned men, and the poorer people could not understand their language.

But Puritanism, being introduced by military force at that terrible time, took hold of the excitable nature of the Welsh poor, and it spread by degrees till Dissenters abounded.

But the Church held her own. During the seventeenth century four English sees were filled by Welshmen, as were also four in Ireland; and there were eighteen Welshmen bishops in Wales itself. But the poverty of some of the sees and livings was rather severe.

This, however, in the case of livings, was true of the English Church, at that time. Insufficient means may have been the cause why some of the clergy were not drawn from the cultured classes. £40 a year was a very small income on which to support a wife and family and meet the needs of a parish; and some livings were worth even less than that. All honour to Queen Anne for coming to the rescue as she did, by restoring the Church's stolen property.

Opinions are divided as to the position of the country clergy at that time, but the majority, such as Samuel Wesley and other country clergymen, were gentlemen of culture and refinement, and treated with the respect due to themselves and their position.

All things considered, we may safely say that the Church was in a satisfactory condition, and the hope of founding an episcopate for the colonies was rejoicing the hearts of Churchmen when Queen Anne died in 1714.

CHAPTER XXVI

SLUMBER

IN the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is a true picture of life, we see Christian climbing with toiling steps, or again with great vigour and hard work, the Hill Difficulty, and then, when his laborious efforts are nearly over, he comes upon an arbour and at once he rests and falls asleep with half the climb undone. This is a similar experience to that which befell the Church after the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

When she died several good projects were on foot. She had restored to the Church some of the Crown's ill-gotten gains; she had sanctioned the proposal to build fifty-two new churches, many Charity Schools had been founded in London and Westminster, and a scheme was in the air for the founding of four colonial bishoprics, at Jamaica, Barbados, Burlington, and Williamsburg. All looked hopeful and full of life, and then with the accession of George I. reaction came, and drowsiness, and, like Christian in the arbour, she lost what she had toiled to gain.

During the reign of Anne most people had accepted the Queen as a sort of Regent for her

brother, and went on in loyal obedience to the reigning sovereign without scruples of conscience. But it was different when George came to the throne. His right to the Crown was to many minds somewhat doubtful, and then, too, though he was by no means religious, and was certainly not a good man, he was, by profession, a Lutheran, and had no sympathy with the English Church.

This was the spirit of the Court, and the King had for his Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole, who checked all enthusiasm on Church matters, and damped the ardour of those earnest Churchmen who were anxious to carry on her work. He wished to rule the Church by the State alone, and his Erastian spirit told strongly against her influence.

In January 1715 the S.P.G. appealed to George for the erection of the four colonial bishoprics. The Church was very earnest in this matter, and probably would have reached her goal through a mild shower of cold water. But such a downpour met the proposal that she could not go on. The Society was not to blame; it simply could not, unaided, carry the scheme through.

Of the fifty-two churches for which a noble sum had been voted in the time of Anne, only twelve were ever built; and many of the religious societies which had flourished in her reign were suspected of being political plots, and they died out by degrees. The two great Societies, the S.P.C.K. and its daughter, the S.P.G., did not die out, but had hard work to hold their own during the period of slumber which overtook the Church; and the number of



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Church services in London and elsewhere gradually grew less and less, till they dwindled down to the lowest number possible.

A great blow fell upon the Church by the silencing of Convocation, which came about in this way.

Benjamin Hoadly, the Rector of St. Swithin's, had preached a sermon which had brought down upon him a reproof from the Lower House of Convocation; and after that he had a dispute with Atterbury who was head or Prolocutor of the Lower House, on the subject of passive obedience. Atterbury was a Tory and High Churchman, while Hoadly was a Whig and a pronounced Latitudinarian. He was just the sort of man to please King George, who made him his chaplain and appointed him to the see of Bangor.

Francis Atterbury must not be passed over, as he was the most popular preacher of Queen Anne's reign, who in 1713 made him Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. He was a strong Jacobite, and on the death of Anne made no secret of his politics. He submitted to the new Government, but he plotted for the return of the son of James II., commonly known as the Pretender, though all Jacobites looked upon him as James III.

He was considered an enemy to the new Government, and in 1722 the ministry arrested him and imprisoned him in the Tower. Finally, he was banished for life. All the bishops were Whigs, and only one stood by him—Gastrell, Bishop of Chester. With his high spirit he must have carried a sad heart

into exile, though he knew he left innumerable friends behind among both clergy and laity.

But we must return to Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor. In 1716, in reply to some papers written by Dr. Hicks, a non-juror, Bishop Hoadly published a book against "the principles and practices of the non-jurors, both in Church and State."

Hoadly was an able writer, but he used his great abilities against the Church instead of for it, and it was impossible for Convocation, which is the public voice of the Church, to pass over these writings. Therefore, the Lower House drew up a "Representation" to lay before the Upper House; but before it could be presented, the Ministry, with Walpole at the head, prorogued Convocation, and for one hundred and thirty-five years it was not allowed to meet for the dispatch of business.

This was a great blow to the Church. If Parliament were silenced what would become of the State? and the Church has surely as good a right as the State to have its affairs discussed in a competent assembly. No wonder efforts began to languish under such conditions.

There were many able writers who wrote against Hoadly in what was called the Bangorian Controversy, among them Dr. Thomas Sherlock, afterwards Bishop of London, Dr. Francis Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and William Law, whose *Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* are described by Canon Overton as "perfect masterpieces of brilliant and effective writing."

The controversies of this and the following reign

had all, more or less, to do with points of religion which are among the deep things of God, and, therefore, not for us to pry into. If everything were perfectly clear to us there would be no need for faith; and it is not only in theology that there are mysteries; the natural world is full of them.

And if we cannot understand the mysteries in the natural world, how can we presume to understand the deep things of God, which are past finding out? But happily the Church had many faithful sons who wrote ably on the side of truth and faith; among them were Archdeacon Waterland, Dr. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, but one towers above them all—Joseph Butler, the learned Bishop of Durham.

His great work, *The Analogy of Religion*, was written to confute the errors of the time, and is considered the greatest of any which appeared in the eighteenth century.

Butler, Bishop of Durham, was practical, but spiritual as well. He lived and breathed in the constant Presence of God. He saw Him in His works in Nature and traced His hand in the History of the Church; to Him he referred every act of his life and thus consecrated all his work. No wonder his *Analogy* had a wonderful power; no wonder it yet lives.

The Church triumphed nobly in all these controversies, so that the intellect was strengthened, but the good was more to head than heart. A great deal of the dulness and sleepiness of this period was due to these controversies.

Enthusiasm was ridiculed; plain, matter-of-fact common sense, bald reason and a humdrum going through of scanty services in Church offered no refreshment to thirsting souls.

Pluralism was rife. Rectors and vicars held perhaps three livings at a time, and employed curates to do the work which they neglected. Three churches to be served by one priest came badly off. The Holy Communion was again shamefully neglected, and the Sacrament of Holy Baptism ceased to be administered in a public service. The people became accustomed to be neglected; and zeal for the proper worship of God nearly died out.

The Archbishop of Canterbury from 1716 to 1737 was William Wake, a remarkable man, learned and conscientious, and of wide sympathies. He tried to bring about a union with the Gallican Church, and he corresponded on this matter with the famous Bishop Bossuet. But it fell through, though it brought the two Churches, of England and France, nearer together, and the bitterness against Roman Catholics was somewhat softened.

Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, deserves special notice for the zeal which the reigning Government tried to quench. He went to Bermuda in order to found a college for the children of the planters, and, to use his own words, for the education "of young savages who might be trained as missionaries," to teach the natives. He had this great scheme deeply at heart, and in 1725 he obtained a charter for the college he proposed to found, and permission from the House of Commons to ask the King for a grant of £20,000

for the purpose. He worked very hard, and himself raised by subscriptions the sum of £5000.

He waited and waited, but no grant came. At last, six years later, Bishop Gibson of Lincoln begged Walpole to fulfil his promise. But he coolly advised Berkeley not to wait for his £20,000, and so the scheme for the Bermudan College fell through.

No wonder the Church became drowsy when such a ministry ruled it.

But God never leaves Himself without a witness, and a trumpet note to wake all slumbering souls was sounded by William Law in his *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, published in 1726 and 1728.

These two books, especially the *Serious Call*, had a great effect. There was no lack of enthusiasm in it, but it spoke to the head as well as the heart; and in that age, when intellect was so triumphant, the book appealed to many minds. It did a wonderful work, and certainly paved the way for the great religious revival under the Wesleys and Whitefield which was soon to follow, and which deserves more than the scanty notice we are able to give it in these pages.

CHAPTER XXVII

AWAKENING

IN the north-west corner of the county of Lincoln, four miles from the River Trent, in the Isle of Axholme, is the small, straggling market-town of Epworth, known to most people as the birthplace of John Wesley.

His father, Samuel Wesley, one of the first members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was Rector of Epworth, and an excellent, hard-working parish priest.

In his work he was greatly assisted by his wife. She was a well-educated woman, a lady of culture and refinement, and possessed of a determined will.

They had a large family, and some of her modes of bringing up the children would be thought very stern and hard in these days; but the sons were devoted to their mother in spite of the strictness of her rule when they were young.

John Wesley was born in 1703; he was the third child of that large family, and always delicate. In 1709 the Rectory, which was old, caught fire in the night, and John was rescued with great difficulty.

In after years he often referred to his wonderful escape, and in Scripture language said he was "a

brand plucked from the burning." As a child he was so thoughtful that his father admitted him to Holy Communion when only eight years of age.

He was educated at home till he went to the Charterhouse, and thence to Christ Church, Oxford.

General drowsiness in Church matters prevailed at Oxford, but John never lost the religious impressions received in his childhood. He hated controversy, so that the advice given him by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, who ordained him, fell in with his own views. It was this—

"If you would do real good, Mr. Wesley, you must not spend your time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness."

Advice which all his life was conscientiously followed.

In 1726 he was elected Fellow of Lincoln College, and from the summer of 1727 for more than two years he was his father's curate at Epworth and the small parish of Wroot. He was called to Oxford in 1729 to take up his old office of Greek lecturer; and found a little society (which its enemies called the Holy Club) formed, consisting of a few young men under the leadership of his younger brother Charles, who had come from Westminster School to Christ Church. The eldest brother Samuel was a master at Westminster School, and had nothing to do with this club.

The objects of the club were these: that its members should read Greek on week-days, and

divinity on Sundays ; they should keep the fasts and festivals of the Church ; regularly attend its services, and receive the Holy Communion every week. They were to visit the sick and prisoners, and to lead blameless lives.

They put themselves at once under the direction of John Wesley, who was a born organizer, and the little society grew. It was called the Methodist Society as a term of ridicule by some of its enemies ; and this little band of religious young men we know to this day as the Oxford Methodists. In 1735 the number had increased to fourteen, and among them was George Whitefield, of whom you will hear later.

We cannot linger over this or any part of Wesley's life, though he was for more than fifty years the strongest spiritual influence of the eighteenth century.

In 1735 the Rector of Epworth died, and not long afterwards the brothers, John and Charles, went out to Georgia in America with its Governor, General Oglethorpe.

General Oglethorpe felt much for the sad condition of prisoners, and had obtained a Royal Charter for the foundation of the colony of Georgia to receive them when discharged from prison. The S.P.G. helped his efforts and John Wesley went out as its missionary. His brother Charles went as secretary to the Governor.

But he always considered his mission to Georgia a failure, though Whitefield said of him : "The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America under God is inexpressible."

John Wesley returned to England in 1738, and

under the influence of the Moravian brethren, who were members of an old German Protestant Church, his heart was soon filled with that intense love to Christ which we have seen in St. Francis of Assisi, and other holy men, who, giving up the world, have devoted themselves entirely to the service of God and the needs of the outcast and poor.

"The whole world is my parish," said John Wesley; and the incessant journeyings and preachings, the self-denial, the indomitable perseverance in overcoming obstacles, the marvellous work of his long life—for he was eighty-eight when he died in 1791—would seem almost incredible, when we know that he was always delicate, and had to constantly strive against a feeling of idleness and fatigue, but that we know his soul was full of enthusiasm which nothing could quench, a love of Christ and of the souls of men which sustained him to the end.

At first his brother Charles worked with him. He was nearly six years younger than John, and the brothers were devoted one to the other. Together they worked for fifteen years, Charles greatly helping with his beautiful hymns.

Charles looked up to his brother with love and reverence, but saw that he was making a mistake in ignoring the laws of the Church, and that his work would finally end in schism if he did not exercise the greatest care.

Their eldest brother, Samuel Wesley (first a master in Westminster School and afterwards head master of Blundell's School at Tiverton), was much concerned when he saw John taking so much upon

himself, and vainly reasoned with him on the subject.

The bishops have been blamed for holding aloof; but Wesley does not blame them. He shows that both Archbishop Potter and his successor, Dr. Secker, were friendly to him, as were also Bishop Gibson of London and Bishop Lowth. Certainly he once had a rebuke from Bishop Butler, then Bishop of Bristol, when he thought both Wesley and Whitefield were going too far. But, on the whole, they were not interfered with; and when Charles settled down to the care of his parish John went on alone.

For Whitefield had long left off the special work of field-preaching, and was under the patronage of the eccentric but earnest Lady Huntingdon, doing his best to turn the hearts of the upper classes from the worldliness of the time to the love and practice of religion.

You remember that Whitefield was one of the little band of Oxford Methodists. He was not, like the Wesleys, of gentle birth, nor had he had the privilege of a cultured and refined home. But he had a wonderful gift of oratory. He was appointed to a servitorship at Pembroke College, Oxford, and showed himself so much in earnest that Bishop Benson of Gloucester ordained him at the early age of twenty-one.

He was endowed with a noble presence, a wonderful command of language, and a most beautiful and impressive voice. He was so entirely devoted to holy things that every thought and action was the result of the love of God. But he was young and inexperienced,

his judgment often led him astray, and his mental powers were not great. He needed training for the great work which he had undertaken without it. Though an ordained minister of the Church, he was not a Churchman at heart, for he despised the Church's rules and went his own way.

Among the colliers at Kingswood near Bristol he preached with such power that strong men, conscious of sin, were moved to tears. It is said that ten thousand, even twenty thousand at a time, listened with awe and wonder to the words which stirred their hearts, as in the fields under the summer sky they sat and listened and wept and prayed.

At first Wesley and Whitefield were of one mind ; and when Wesley returned from Georgia, Whitefield succeeded him in his work there, being sent out by the S.P.G., but the friends separated at last on points of doctrine. Whitefield was a Calvinist of a severe type, Wesley an equally strong Arminian. Each thought himself right and the other wrong ; both had wills like iron. They drifted apart. Wesley went on his way teaching and preaching and awakening souls, and Whitefield did the same. Wesley, who always considered himself a good Churchman, setting her authority aside by degrees till he took upon himself to ordain ministers as though he had been a bishop, and allowed laymen to administer the Holy Communion, thus creating a schism of which he was not sufficiently far-seeing to measure the results—as can be seen by a letter written to the Methodist connexion two years before his death, in which he besought his followers to remain in the Church of England.

But the strong words of the brave veteran in the Army of Christ came too late. The mischief was done. Wesley died in 1791. Four years later the separation came. But those who had most resented being under obedience to the Church now took upon themselves to rule with so high a hand, that a certain Mr. Alexander Kilham, after fighting hard against what he termed "the priestly domination" of the Wesley Conference, separated, and founded the "New Connexion."

It was in 1797 that the Methodist New Connexion came into being, and in 1810 arose the Primitive Methodists; and at the present day there are no less than nineteen different forms of Methodism.

English Churchmen must sincerely deplore this loss to the Church caused by John Wesley's acts of schism. But John Wesley himself must ever be regarded as the great missionary of the eighteenth century. In his entire devotion to God, in his intense earnestness, in his noble self-denial, his heroic struggle against physical weakness and fatigue, in his absolute devotion to the needs of all and every one who needed him, in his deep yearning over the souls of men—he reminds us forcibly of the founder of the Order of Friars minor, the good St. Francis.

There the resemblance ceases. St. Francis worked under authority. John Wesley would have none of it. It was the imperious spirit impatient of all control, which would brook no interference, and set at nought all rule, which wrought the mischief of separation. Yet we must remember how great was the work John Wesley did in his long life. While those in high

places were rightly employed in using the highest powers of intellect in answering the questions of unbelievers, the middle class and the poor suffered from the neglect caused by that wearisome controversy. Then Wesley stepped into the breach, and while others attacked the head he stormed the heart; and a great wave of religious feeling swept over the country while in impassioned language he preached the great truths of the Love of God and the forgiveness of sins.

We must just glance at Whitefield's efforts, which had also a result in schism.

George Whitefield was never truly at heart a Churchman; and he and his patroness, Lady Huntingdon, were really Dissenters long before they were acknowledged as such. The energetic Countess built chapels and founded a college at Trevecca in Cornwall and afterwards at Cheshunt for her Calvinistic ministers, who were originally, in name at least, Churchmen, though their Churchmanship was of very thin fibre. Whitefield ended his earnest work in 1770, and in 1781, much against Lady Huntingdon's wish, her chapels were registered as Dissenting places of worship. The sect she founded is still known as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AN ISLAND DIOCESE AND THREE FRIENDS

WHILE the work of the Wesleys was going on, the Church was working for the Colonies, for prisoners, and foreign missions. Dr. Bray had founded parish libraries at home and in the plantations, and Dr. Berkeley had left his valuable library to the College of Yale in Rhode Island, which was under the care of one of the S.P.G. missionaries, a Mr. Johnson, and this was a noble gift. He had bought land there, and left it for the benefit of students of the College. Then he returned every one of the subscriptions he had received, and the money left over, which was unclaimed—£200—he gave to the S.P.G.

On his return he was made Bishop of Cloyne, but his heart was in the mission till the end of his life.

Much might have been done by the Church had not the State tied her hands.

William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in ill-health some time before his death in 1737, and much of his work was done by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. He was an able and learned man, much interested in missionary work.

But perhaps he is most to be admired because in

an age which was careless and lax he showed a steadfast front, and acted up to his principles. At first he had been greatly in favour with Sir Robert Walpole, though the Prime Minister was one who opposed Church aims and methods. But he did believe in Bishop Gibson, and considered him an excellent man. Then there came a time when Gibson felt it his duty to oppose Walpole in Parliament, and he suffered for his moral courage, for the Prime Minister revenged himself in a mean and paltry spirit when Archbishop Wake died.

As the Bishop of London had done most of the primate's work for at least six years, every one expected he would succeed Dr. Wake. But Walpole passed him over, and appointed John Potter, who was Bishop of Oxford when he ordained John Wesley.

Dr. Potter was a good man, and acted up to the advice he had given Wesley at his ordination, and he was also a good Churchman, though not such an able man as Thomas Sherlock, who succeeded Dr. Gibson as Bishop of London in 1748.

But the bishop whose life was completely out of the common way was Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man.

The Isle of Man has a very ancient history. Its diocese was founded as early as 447. When the island, some centuries later, was under the rule of the Norsemen, the bishopric, subject to the Archbishop of Tronjeim, was that of Sodoreys (the Shetland and other southern Scottish isles), and Man was included in it; hence the title of the Bishop—Sodor and Man.

On the Island of Peel, sometimes in olden days called Sodor (the word meaning South), there are ruins of an ancient fortress and of four churches, of which the Cathedral of St. German is one.

The Isle of Man has its own government and laws, and two hundred years ago must have been even more beautiful and interesting than at the present time.

Thomas Wilson, who was born in 1663, the year after the settlement of Church matters in the Savoy Conference, was consecrated to the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1697, and though other richer sees were offered to him in turn, he declined them all, and for fifty-seven years he ruled his diocese in a remarkable way. Church discipline against offenders he exercised fearlessly when, in England, it had fallen into disuse. When Convocation ceased to assemble in England, that little island in the Irish Sea had its yearly Synod under the leadership of the Bishop. He believed strongly in Christian education, and had schools and parish libraries all over the Isle of Man. His rule there was so absolute that it is not to be wondered at that it sometimes clashed with the civil authorities, and on one occasion the Bishop was imprisoned. But this did not disturb him. He said "he never ruled his diocese better than when in gaol, and but for his health's sake would have been content to remain there."

A man of such cheery courage as this, whose schemes were so benevolent and whose character so good, was sure to be loved and honoured, in spite of his strict rule. It was sheer force of a very saintly character which made his influence so great, and

enabled him to govern his little diocese with such wonderful effect. There is a book of his which was popular at one time, a Communicant's guide called *Sacra Privata*, and it is now sometimes used.

The Cathedral of the Isle of Man is St. German's Cathedral at Peel. Four canons are attached to it—the Canon of St. German's, the Canon of St. Patrick, the Canon of St. Maughold, and the Canon of St. Columba.

There is no need to remind you of St. Germanus and the Alleluia Victory, or of St. Patrick and St. Columba; but St. Maughold is less well known. He was a brigand, but he was converted, and in very old times became Bishop of Man.

The life of Bishop Wilson is extremely interesting, for he was certainly the most remarkable clergyman of his time; but the conditions of life in the Isle of Man were different from those in England, and the Bishop had a free hand, which was not the case in England where the bishops were tied and bound by many restrictions and by having to appear frequently at Court; especially at Queen Caroline's tea-parties, where she delighted in gathering together learned men, especially prelates, for she was attached to the Church of England, though very Latitudinarian and Erastian in her views. But she had great penetration, and could judge of character and ability in a shrewd manner. She would have promoted Bishop Wilson to a bishopric in England, where he would have had a more liberal income, but he quaintly replied that he could not leave his wife (meaning his Manx diocese) in his old age, because she was poor.

He was buried in the churchyard of Kirk Michael in his own beloved island.

It was no doubt greatly owing to Queen Caroline's influence that such excellent bishops were appointed as Sherlock, Secker, and Potter; and it was entirely owing to her that the great Joseph Butler was promoted from his country living to a bishopric. On her death-bed she pleaded with the King for his promotion; and at his hands she received the Holy Communion before she died.

George II. might have better carried out the wishes of his wife, than by giving Butler the poorest of the bishoprics, that of Bristol, which he held till he was translated to Durham in 1750, two years before his death.

It was at Bristol that he rebuked both Wesley and Whitefield; and that, not because he did not care for the souls of the Kingswood miners, but because he disapproved of their methods. He thought quiet Church services were better for them than the sermons in the open air, which so worked upon their feelings that strong, sturdy men were melted to tears. It was not Wesley's aim that he objected to, but his manner of carrying it out; and he still more objected to Whitefield's sensational preaching.

Bishop Butler, though so good a man, saw no evil in pluralism, but it is satisfactory to know that there were a few of the clergy who considered it wrong for clergymen not to reside upon their cures. Sherlock, Bishop of London, was one of these.

We cannot leave Bishop Butler just yet, because, not only was he the most distinguished bishop of the

time, but he had two friends, Secker and Benson; and the three were important in their different spheres.

Thomas Secker was the son of a Dissenter and, like Butler, was educated at a Dissenting school at Tewkesbury. The expenses of Secker's education were borne partly by that well-known Nonconformist minister, Dr. Isaac Watts. It is very much the habit to laugh at Dr. Watts' hymns and moral songs for children; but they ought not to be ridiculed, for he was the first to put into easy rhyme for the little ones holy thoughts and moral lessons, which bore a great part in the nursery education of many generations.

And we must be for ever grateful to him for his fine paraphrase of the 90th Psalm—

“ O God, our Help in ages past,
Our Hope for years to come;
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home,”

which we sing in all times of national calamity and distress, and which we may rank with the Old Hundredth for giving expression to the deepest feelings of our hearts—the one in thanksgiving, the other in humble trust and reliance on the mercy of God. *St. Anne*, the tune to which it is sung, is probably by Dr. Croft, a musician of the early eighteenth century, who died in 1727.

Dr. Watts was also a learned man, and he was quick to see the abilities of Thomas Secker, and helped to provide for his education, first at Gloucester, afterwards at Tewkesbury. At school he met

Joseph Butler ; and the friendship begun in boyhood's days lasted to the end of their lives.

Both friends were expecting to enter the Non-conformist ministry, but the Church drew them irresistibly, and they became Churchmen. Butler was the first to conform, but he tried to win over his friend Secker, who could not make up his mind, and while in this state of uncertainty he studied medicine, went abroad to Paris and Leyden, and at the last place took his medical degree.

At Leyden, Secker met Martin Benson, who was travelling before his ordination. A friendship sprang up between them.

Owing to the influence of Butler and Benson, Secker, at last, decided to conform and to take Holy orders, and entered at Exeter College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1722, and in 1724 was Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. In 1734 he was appointed Bishop of Bristol, Bishop of Oxford in 1737, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1758. He had been long in accepting the doctrines of the Church, but he became a devoted Churchman. He was no enthusiast ; the spirit of the age was against enthusiasm ; he aimed at calmness and moderation in religion. But his religion was of a robust and manly type, and he had the courage to speak out when a weaker man would have kept silence.

Of this trio of friends, Martin Benson was the eldest. If we may look upon Butler as the greatest bishop of the eighteenth century, so we may consider that, next to Bishop Wilson, Benson was the most saintly prelate of the time. Never was a man less

self-seeking than Martin Benson. He had been brought up like the Wesleys at a country rectory, was educated at the Charterhouse, and at Christ Church, Oxford, and as college tutor formed friendships with young men of high position, among others with Lord Huntingdon, whose wife became so devoted a follower of Whitefield that her friends were alarmed, and her husband sent for Bishop Benson to try and check her enthusiastic tendencies.

But Benson as Bishop of Gloucester had taken great interest in Whitefield when a young man, and had ordained him. He probably thought a little more zeal in religion was not the thing to condemn; and we, knowing the determined will of Lady Huntingdon, who was fully convinced she was right, cannot wonder that nothing resulted from the interview.

Though he had many influential friends, through whom he might have obtained preferment, he neither sought it nor desired it. Though Gloucester was a poor bishopric, he was quite content with it, and never wished to change. He was lavish in his gifts for the cathedral, and most generous to the poor. And we may well believe of him that with his gifts he gave himself—his tender sympathy, his strong consolation.

Butler was the first of the trio of friends to enter into rest. He was very ill, and would gladly have had with him his dearest friend of all, Secker, then Bishop of Oxford. But this could not be, and at Secker's request Benson went and devoted himself to Butler in his last illness. How he soothed his sufferings we can well understand, and how comforted

Bishop Secker would be to know his dear old friend spoke of him at the last. But the strain of nursing and watching over his friend had told upon Bishop Benson. Butler died on the 16th of June 1752, and Benson on the 30th of August—a double grief for the friend who survived them sixteen years.

Among the bishops of this time we must not omit John Conybeare of Bristol, and John Hough, Bishop of Worcester, who, as President of Magdalen College, Oxford, had made that heroic stand against the arbitrary measures of James II.

George I. and his successor, George II., were neither good men nor Churchmen, but during their reigns the spirit of toleration was growing, perhaps because people were not so red-hot in their party spirit. But we must give George I. his due, for in his speech before his first Privy Council he expressed his approval of "the toleration allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters" as being "so agreeable to Christian charity and so necessary to the trade and riches of this great Kingdom." This last clause is quite in the spirit of the times when worldly prosperity was counted a higher thing than spiritual worth.

The parochial clergy no less than the rulers of the Church deserve our notice. Writers of fiction bring before us the habits and customs of the time they describe; and we must own that in Goldsmith's tale of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, though we may admire the good man's simplicity and genuine love of what is good, his wife and daughters seem very worldly minded, and, no doubt, represent accurately the outcome of the apathy of the day.

But Goldsmith has given us in his *Deserted Village* another and a charming picture of a parish priest, probably his own father, who was Rector of Lissoy in Ireland.

It is well to read it as we think of the clergy of those days.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

GEORGE III. succeeded his grandfather in 1760, and showed himself to be strongly on the side of religion and morality. At his coronation he removed his crown before receiving the Holy Communion—a proof of his reverence which Churchmen hailed as a promise of better things.

The new King and his wife, Queen Charlotte, soon raised the tone of the Court, which had sunk grievously low under the two preceding kings, but improvement in Church matters was much slower.

At the time of George III.'s accession Wesley was working with all the earnestness of his great soul, unconscious that his followers were gradually drifting away from the Church. So long as he lived they were nominally members of it; but it was only his commanding influence which held them together. When he was no longer there to keep them from straying, they very soon left the fold.

While the followers of Wesley, who himself gloried in belonging to the Church of England, became Dissenters, those of Whitefield, who was more or less a Dissenter himself, would not leave the Church. As Wesley was the leader of the Methodists, so White-

field may be considered the founder of the Evangelical Movement, though at first it is very difficult to distinguish between them.

The word evangelical explains itself. The pure Gospel was what the Evangelicals professed to teach: they aimed at taking their religion straight from its great Founder, our Lord Jesus Christ, without any intervention of Church or priest. But, as Wesley separated from Whitefield because of the latter's Calvinism, so the Methodists and Evangelicals were opposed on some points of doctrine—the Original Methodists being distinguished by their Arminianism, while the Evangelicals were Calvinists, though more moderate later in their special views than Whitefield.

Lady Huntingdon's Connexion separated from the Church in 1781, ten years before her death. But before this there had been associated with her and with Wesley men who, in spite of great sympathy with the two movements—Methodism and Lady Huntingdon's—were true to their ordination vows, and always remained faithful to the Church.

But their Churchmanship was not that of Andrewes or Laud, or of those two religious laymen of their own time, Dr. Johnson and Edmund Burke, who were true to the teaching of the martyred archbishop and the saintly Bishop of Ely of the seventeenth century. They had no liking for tradition and cared nothing for the early history of the Church, and would have denied the fact of its continuity with the Primitive Church, as they considered it only chief among the Protestant sects which had sprung up after its reformation. They thought nothing of its

backbone of Apostolical Succession, by which I mean that its bishops had, by their consecration, made an unbroken line, one after the other, from the apostles themselves. They put aside the sacramental power of the Holy Eucharist and of Baptism, and reduced Confirmation to a mere fulfilment of the dedication in the Baptismal vow, dwelling very little, if at all, on the gift of the Holy Ghost in the laying on of hands.

Certain rubrics—such as that in the first exhortation before Holy Communion or in the Visitation of the sick, which enjoins confession before a priest if the conscience is weighted with any grievous matter, and for its quieting needs the blessed grace of absolution—were entirely set aside as popish, and the godly discipline of the Church was omitted altogether. They found in some of the Articles points of union with their own moderate Calvinistic views, and those with which they could not agree they ignored, as remnants of a superstition from which the Church of England had never been thoroughly purged.

All that was Protestant, in its early sense of being antipapist, they fully accepted; nearly all that was Catholic, and held in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ, they had no sympathy with. They had a horror of Romanism, but gladly worked hand in hand with Nonconformists, while they held aloof from Latitudinarians and High Churchmen.

There was a strong element of Puritanism in all the early Evangelicals in the dislike of worldly amusements, the objection to works of fiction, and in their

strict observance of Sunday. But they did not wish to give up the Prayer Book: they loved it, and simply ignored in it what they did not approve. Bishops were looked upon with respect as the highest order of clergy—not as necessary to the existence of the Church—and the clergy generally were regarded less as stewards of the mysteries of God than as ministers to whose teaching they were bound to listen.

But they were staunch supporters of the Church which they loved, and they have always done most devoted and noble work in missions to the heathen, and for the temporal welfare of the poor and the oppressed. They were, as a rule, most saintly people, and truly the salt of the Church during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Of those associated with Lady Huntingdon we may mention William Romaine, Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Henry Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, John Berridge of Everton, and William Grimshaw of Haworth. These would not leave the Church of England when Lady Huntingdon and her "connexion" withdrew from it, but worked on as devoted members of the Church to the end.

James Hervey of Weston Favell, who had been a disciple of John Wesley at Oxford, and had great sympathy with the work of the famous missionary, may be considered a link between the Methodists and the Evangelicals.

William Grimshaw was Vicar of Haworth and died in 1763.

He was at first a friend of John Wesley and his

brother Charles, and, though very eccentric, was very much in earnest. The strange thing is that, being anxious that people should come to church, he should have built a Methodist chapel in the village which would draw them away from it; but that he could not foresee. A want of foresight was strongly marked in John Wesley himself, so no wonder it was the same with his followers.

John Berridge, Vicar of Everton, was even more eccentric than the Vicar of Haworth, but he too worked hard as a missionary in his own parish and outside it. He was one of Lady Huntingdon's devoted friends.

Quite different from these two violent, though sincere, men, was William Romaine, high in the favour of Lady Huntingdon and her senior chaplain before her separation from the Church. At St. George's, Hanover Square, and afterwards at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, he did a great work among his middle-class parishioners and others who frequented his church.

His standing at Oxford was high, and his learning and self-reserve and dignity of manner fitted him particularly for his special work. Attached as he was to Lady Huntingdon, it must have been a trial to him to sever from her connexion; but he was true to his principles, and remained in the Church, where his work had lasting results.

Romaine died in 1795, four years after Wesley and Lady Huntingdon, and by that time there was a stirring of life in the Church owing to the Evangelical influence. The first thirty years of George III.'s reign

had shown little growth, and the spiritual element had not penetrated into high quarters, where, as a rule, there is always a shyness of a "middle-class movement." Two more names of early Evangelicals we must mention, Fletcher of Madeley, in Shropshire, who did such splendid work among the colliers, and Henry Venn, the Vicar of Huddersfield. He did as great a work there as Romaine did in London.

Strong Calvinists at first, the Evangelicals gradually took milder views. Once Henry Venn was asked if a certain young minister was Calvinist or Arminian in his doctrine?

To this he replied, "I really do not know; he is a sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is of infinitely more importance than his being a disciple of Calvin or Arminius."

A man who did much good with those who had greatly sinned was John Newton, the secret of his power being that he could sympathize with them, having been himself a great sinner, and loving his Lord much because much had been forgiven.

His Church views were so vague that he was not quite sure at first whether he would become an Independent minister or take Holy orders. His education had been much neglected, but his abilities were good and his perseverance great. He worked so hard that when he offered himself for ordination he was equal to the necessary examination. But Dr. Gilbert, Archbishop of York, thought his religion required testing, and refused to ordain him, so did the Bishop of Chester, and for a time he took charge of an Independent chapel. At last Bishop Green

of Lincoln ordained him in 1764; and he became curate of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, with the stipend of £60 a year.

Here he worked very hard, and many came to hear his wonderful preaching. That good layman, John Thornton of Clapham, allowed him £200 a year, knowing that poverty must be a great hindrance to his work.

At Olney, Newton wrote his hymns—some good, others very poor, but they reached the hearts of those who sang them. Here he became the friend of Thomas Scott, who had also been ordained by Bishop Green, though he could hardly have been fit for ordination, being very unbelieving and doubtful as to the great truths which Newton held dearer than life.

It was owing, under the blessing of God, to Newton's influence that Scott reached at last the light for which he had been vainly groping, and his strong defence of the faith he had attained through struggle and pain was shown in his work, *The Force of Truth*, while his Commentary on the Bible is so well known that he is generally spoken of as Scott the Commentator. His grandson, Sir Gilbert Scott, was one of the best church architects of the nineteenth century, building up the outer fabric of the church, of which his grandfather had strengthened the inner life with such trouble and care.

Scott succeeded Newton as curate of Olney when his spiritual father was promoted to the living of St. Mary, Woolnoth, in London, in the gift of his

friend, John Thornton. Newton held it till his death in 1807.

The Church history of the later part of the eighteenth century is so full of the work of the Evangelical clergymen and laymen that we can only glance at a few of their names. Richard Cecil, incumbent of St. John's, Bedford Row, the two brothers Milner—Joseph, who died in 1797, and Isaac, who lived till 1820—Robinson of Leicester, Jowett of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and others.

But there is one layman who perhaps did more than all to spread the spirit of Evangelicalism among the educated and upper classes—William Cowper, the poet, born at Great Berkhamstead Rectory in 1731, and who died in 1800.

He was one of Newton's parishioners at Olney, and the two were great friends.

The life of Cowper is sad, but most interesting. His poems are delightful, and while they nearly all show an earnest religious spirit of the Evangelical type, they also show great refinement of taste, combined with scholarship of a high order and a keen sense of humour. He criticized the follies of the age in so witty a manner that those readers who would have resented a rebuke from the pulpit took Cowper's words in good part, and, we may hope, profited by them. His letters, too, are charming; and in an age when letters were long and very full of interest his hold a very high place. Then, together with Newton, Cowper composed some of the Olney hymns.

John and Charles Wesley, Dr. Watts, Newton, and

Cowper are the hymn-writers of the eighteenth century, and their hymns helped greatly the souls of those who sang them. They bore an important part in the great awakening.

Cowper's grave is at East Dereham, in Norfolk. You have heard of East Dereham before.¹ Here Witburga, one of the daughters of Anna, the good East Anglian king, was abbess of the monastery, and here she died and was buried eleven hundred years before the poet Cowper.

We must end this chapter with Cowper's grave; there is more to be said about the eighteenth century and the good works which graced its close.

¹ Part I, p. 105.

CHAPTER XXX

THE FOUNDING OF SOME CHURCH SOCIETIES

THE Moravian Church had been most active in mission work, and had mission stations in many parts of the Colonies. But the English missionaries sent out to America by the S.P.G. were terribly fettered by the want of an American Episcopate. The bishops in England had mostly taken a depressed view of the condition of the Church, and, since Bishop Gibson died, had not done much to further the missionary cause. The eighteenth century bishops were chiefly selected not so much for spiritual worth as for political reasons or for their intellectual abilities.

But Archbishop Secker, who had been quick to see all that was good in Methodism, and advised his clergy to emulate the good in it and avoid the bad, had an undoubted desire for the true spirit of Christ to be aroused, and where that is, then missionary zeal is sure to follow, for no true Christian will keep his good things to himself.

But after a long time of ill-health the good archbishop died in 1768, and his successor, Dr. Cornwallis, was not a model bishop.

The times were those of unrest in the national life.

The American colonies had declared their Independence in 1776, and the English Church there was no longer called the Church of England, but the American Protestant Episcopal Church. It was already a power there, but less than it would have been had not the want of bishops checked its progress. But in 1784, Samuel Seabury was consecrated (in Scotland, by the Bishop of Aberdeen) Bishop of Connecticut; in 1787 two American bishops, William White and Samuel Provost, were consecrated at Lambeth; in 1790 James Madison was consecrated; and in 1792 Thomas John Claggett was consecrated first Bishop of Maryland. So, brighter days were now in store for the American Church.

In 1781, Robert Raikes, the proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, and Thomas Stock, curate of St. John the Baptist Church, Gloucester, set to work to call the poor children of the city together, and organized the first Sunday School known as such, though in some parishes they had existed before.

This movement quickly spread, the Evangelical party warmly taking up the work. Hannah More and her sister Patty, in their home at Cheddar, devoted themselves to the poor in the neighbourhood. They visited them in their own homes, established schools, and persevered bravely, though the cold water thrown over their schemes would have quenched less ardent spirits. Mr. Thornton, the rich banker of Clapham, and William Wilberforce, the friend of the oppressed negro, helped them with money, and John Newton, who was Hannah More's spiritual guide, and Bishop Porteus, gave her good advice, which she was wise

enough to follow. She was a sensible woman, and a gifted one, and though now we might not think much of her writings, yet they had a wonderful influence for good in her own time.

We have mentioned Wilberforce, but he deserves more than a mere glance, though here it will be enough to notice that he was a Member of Parliament, a man of wide sympathies, with a heart which mourned over the sufferings of the downtrodden and oppressed, and gifted with eloquence to plead their cause. He was rich, and used his riches, as did the Evangelicals generally, as a talent intrusted to him for the benefit of others.

He cared nothing for the opposition which met him in his charitable schemes, and he was absolutely free from self-seeking, while his great charm of manner helped on his schemes in a way which an uncouth person could never have attained.

The Thorntons were relations of Wilberforce. John Thornton was a man of great liberality. At that time the Evangelical clergy were not in high favour, and were, as a rule, only appointed to poor livings. We have seen how John Thornton helped John Newton, and no doubt many others of whom we have no record. His son, Henry Thornton, followed in his father's steps. With the honoured names of Wilberforce and the Thorntons we must mention Zachary Macaulay, a man of like mind with his friends, a famous lawyer, James Stephen, and Lord Teignmouth; these, with their leader, John Venn, Rector of Clapham, were called by outsiders the Clapham Sect, though they were not a sect at all,

but were devoted to the Church. They happened to live at Clapham, and were all friends, all rich, all liberal with their riches, all devoutly religious men, full of good works.

John Venn was the son of Henry Venn, who had been one of Lady Huntingdon's chaplains till she left the Church, and was for the last twenty-six years of his life incumbent of Yelling, near Cambridge, where he used to receive visits from the undergraduates of the University, among them, one who became a great power in his day, Charles Simeon.

That Henry Venn exercised great influence over Simeon as a young man we cannot doubt. He was one of the most devoted among the Evangelicals, one who gave himself entirely to his Master's service. When Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, he undertook the charge of Trinity Church, a living to which a very poor stipend was attached. But to Charles Simeon that did not matter—the world did not claim him, but his Master did. He preached, and people listened to him with rapt faces; the churchwardens, alarmed at the zeal he kindled, locked the pew doors, so that the congregation crowded the aisles. They closed the church, but he preached in the churchyard. He had a terrible time of persecution, but he bore himself bravely and lived through it. Then at last, after twelve years, which would have worn out many men of less spiritual strength, he had his reward. His influence was so great that Cambridge became the training-school of the Evangelical clergy. Those who had come under his influence he provided with curacies, or chaplaincies

in India, and never lost touch with them as long as he could write a letter. First and foremost among the Evangelical clergy must always stand the name of Charles Simeon.

Oxford was never much affected by the Evangelical movement, though St. Edmund's Hall must be mentioned as an exception.

In the last years of the eighteenth century, the gifted, learned, and spiritually minded Samuel Horsley was Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a Churchman of the type of Edmund Burke and Dr. Johnson, but he spoke in the highest terms of the preaching of the Evangelical clergy. He must have been thankful to see the wonderful stirring of life, though it was by means of men with whom on matters of Church law and ritual he could not agree.

Another Churchman, who, while disapproving of some of the teaching of the Methodists and Evangelicals, yet fully acknowledged their worth and sincerity, was George Horne, Bishop of Norwich.

We must not leave out a name with which our ancestors were familiar, though neither High Churchman nor Evangelical. Yet he was certainly a Churchman, and an able defender of the Christian faith, perhaps the best we have had since Butler. This was Archdeacon Paley, the author of *Natural Theology*. We must bear in mind that the eighteenth century did much in writing on Christian evidence, and in argument in defence of Christianity. It was *the* characteristic of the century, though it is quite impossible in this little book to give even the names of all those who argued in defence of the Faith, or of

the many others who made famous and blessed the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1799 was founded the Religious Tract Society. This has never been distinctively a Church Society, though its establishment was greatly owing to the Evangelicals. And the same may be said of the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804.

But the Church Missionary Society, the C.M.S. of our day, was entirely founded by Evangelical Churchmen. John Venn, the Rector of Clapham, was its principal member, though the idea of the Society was first brought forward at the Rectory of Mr. Pugh of Rauceby, in Lincolnshire. Charles Simeon, Thomas Scott, William Wilberforce, in fact, all the members of the so-called Clapham Sect helped in its foundation.

The C.M.S. differs from the S.P.G. in this way: the S.P.G. was established in order to supply in the first place the spiritual needs of English people in our colonies and dependencies, and in the second place to teach the religion of Christ to the heathen. The C.M.S. was always intended exclusively for the heathen; and its object at first was to preach the gospel to the people of Africa and the East. Australia was then little more than a name, and the islands in the Southern Seas had never been explored, so Africa seemed the chief place which required evangelizing, the sorrows of the negroes having appealed strongly to the hearts of the good men of that day.

It was Captain Cook who, in 1770, explored the eastern coast of Australia, and we must remember

that Sydney is the oldest town in Australia, having been founded in 1788.

But when the C.M.S. came into being, Australia, except as having a convict settlement at Botany Bay, was an unknown country. It was "darkest Africa" to which the Society turned—Africa, and also India, over the northern part of which, in 1799, the English rule was rapidly spreading, through recent conquests by Lord Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington.

Thus we see the eighteenth century closing in the hope of a brighter day to come. Many *émigrés* driven from France by the Revolution had found refuge in England, and were received as tutors, governesses, and in other intimate relations with English families. This shows that the feeling against Roman Catholics was growing kinder than during the days when as long as there was the fear of a descendant of James II. becoming king it was very bitter and very real. And now the wonderful nineteenth century opened with a future before it for the Church of England, in which High Churchmen and Low Churchmen (the name by which Evangelicals were afterwards often called) took their separate parts for the glory of God.

For the first part of the nineteenth century the Evangelical party were the strongest, but the two earliest societies of the Church—the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G.—still held their own; and in 1811 the National Society was founded in order to ensure sound Church teaching in schools provided for the poor.

What a gallant fight for these schools in which Church teaching is given has been made by both

clergy and laity alike to whom the Church is dear it would take a long time to say. The Board Schools, or Council Schools, as they are now called, being under Government and maintained by the rates, have flourished exceedingly, yet the Church has bravely held her own; but at what cost to the clergy, who have worn themselves out in begging for subscriptions to keep their schools in good working order and up to the requirements of the Government inspector only the clergy know. They have fought a good fight and are still fighting it in order that the children of the nation should be brought up as children and members of the National Church.

In 1814 was founded the Indian Episcopate. One of the Indian chaplains was Henry Martyn, who worked bravely against fearful odds as he travelled about in the heat of a country to which he was unaccustomed, who suffered in his health and from sorrow of heart at what seemed the failure of his work, and who died as he had lived, devoted to his Master, but worn out in his Master's service.

Henry Martyn and other chaplains were friends of Charles Simeon or recommended by him; but both the S.P.G. and C.M.S. shared in the work of missions to India. Bishop Middleton was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta in 1814.

Another Bishop of Calcutta was Reginald Heber, who died in 1826 at the early age of forty-three. Like Henry Martyn his great efforts and the strain of the work told upon his health.

In addition to his work in India, Bishop Heber lives in his hymns.

The poet Tennyson (no mean judge) said that, to his mind, Heber's hymn for Trinity Sunday was the most perfect hymn in the English language.

“From Greenland's icy mountains”

is another well known to us all.

Both words and music of the tune called *Calcutta* are by Bishop Heber.

Dr. Manners Sutton was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1805 to 1828, and the great events in the Church of his time were the founding of the National Society in 1811, the founding of the Indian Episcopate, in which both S.P.G. and C.M.S. took part, and the Church Building Society founded in 1818.

These were eventful times in the history of Europe, no less than in the history of our own Church and State.

CHAPTER XXXI

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

IN 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, and in 1829 a Bill passed through Parliament called "The Catholic Relief Bill," which gave liberty to all Roman Catholics to take office as any other British subjects.

Some Churchmen, among them Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, Vernon Harcourt, Archbishop of York, and Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, were in favour of these measures of relief. But the majority of Churchmen of both parties viewed them with dread, for the most bitter and untrue things were said against the Church by her enemies, who now hoped that as a National Church the Church would be done away.

It was a terrible time, but with dogged determination to hold to their ancient rights Churchmen held on their way. They were hindered by the condition of things at court. George III. had died in 1820, and of his successor, George IV., the less said the better. But this we may say, that staunch Churchmen who were loyal to the Crown were suspected of approving the bad ways of the King and court. This was most unjust, but only one of the unjust suspicions Churchmen had to bear at the time.

When George III. came to the throne there was much indifference in the Church, but the Methodist and Evangelical revival afterwards seemed likely to quicken the dry bones into life. But Methodism drifted into dissent, while the intense piety of the Evangelicals, though it deeply touched individual souls, did not greatly affect the Church as a body. This was greatly due to State influence. For the Prime Ministers did not care for Evangelicalism—it savoured, in their minds, of lax politics and dissent, and they never suggested to the King to appoint an Evangelical clergyman to a vacant diocese.

The bishops were mostly men of learning, who lived in dignified state in their palaces, attending to their duties in a formal way, but not growing intimate with their clergy or with the needs of parishes in their dioceses. Confirmations were not held frequently, and the preparation for them was often scanty in the extreme.

Though many of the clergy tried to do their duty to their parishioners, many were unequal to their work. Great landowners had usually one or two livings in their gift, and into the best of these one of the younger sons was placed, as a matter of course, whether he had a vocation (or call to the work) or not. Thus the fox-hunting parson was seen as often in the field as the squire, and where the clergyman did not hunt we make his acquaintance in the fiction of the time as the polished but rather inane gentleman of Miss Austen's novels.

Churches, as a rule, were opened only once a week, and high square pews still prevailed where the people

could sleep comfortably while the long sermon was droning over their heads.

It was a sad state of things, and even where the clergy were good, earnest men, they felt tied and bound by the fetters of general sloth which they had no power to break. They upheld the Church and the Prayer Book; but the Holy Communion was celebrated only once a month, at noonday, and often restricted to the three canonical times, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. This more especially refers to country parishes, but there was a great want even in the cathedrals. Here the daily services were kept up, but the spacious naves were never used, and the cathedrals were looked upon more as museums of the past than as centres of spiritual life. Deans were appointed, not for their fitness to be custodians of these beautiful mother-churches, built by reverent hands of olden time, but because there was little for them to do, and the deanery was a fit place for scholarly leisure, and for an aged clergyman of good family to end his days. Well might some of the more earnest clergy echo the despairing cry of Elijah the prophet, who could see no prospect but decay and ruin of the Lord's cause: "It is enough: now, O Lord, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers."

We know the story, and we shall see how in the Church, as elsewhere, history repeats itself.

For to the almost despairing Church of England, after the rough wind of persecution, the raging fire of controversy, and the earthquake of civil reform which threatened to shake the very foundations of the

Church, there came to prepare the way for a great stirring of life and love and zeal the quiet power and mighty influence of a still, small voice.

And how did it come?

In the year 1827 appeared a book of sacred verse. Few beyond the author's friends knew who had written it. Its title was: *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy Days Throughout the Year*, and the motto or text which gave the keynote to the book was: "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

It was not an imposing-looking volume, though it could be had in a large size and well bound, but, as a rule, it was a little, unpretentious-looking book in a dull brown cover, and it could be bought for eighteenpence. But within those little brown covers the still, small voice uttered itself, and wrought a reformation and a cleansing whose worth is beyond our power to measure, and whose influence still goes on, although so many years have passed since it appeared.

Quietly it stole into the lives of Churchmen. Way-worn priests and hard-worked laymen, anxious mothers, tired teachers, sufferers, penitent sinners, and young earnest souls—all felt its power.

But not only to such souls as these did the book have a mission: it found its way to the abodes of learning. "My Sunday Puzzle" a studious college don called it, for the verses at times seemed obscure; but he read it every Sunday, nevertheless.

And what was the secret of its wonderful power? Simply this, it showed the inner meaning of the

Prayer Book, and that it was not just the collection of prayers and thanksgivings of common men. If the words of each service had not exactly been written on their knees, the compilers had so depended on the Holy Spirit in prayer for guidance, that the book itself was full of life—the life which had animated the Early Church, which had survived the corruptions of mediæval days, which nothing could quench, because of those gracious words, “Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.”

And while this “still, small voice” was whispering to countless souls the Church’s message, the noble band of workers at Clapham, headed by Wilberforce, pursued their great object, the abolition of slavery, and finally the Act for making free all slaves in the English dominions was passed. A very large sum was paid to the planters in compensation, but it did not cover their losses, and they greatly objected to the Act. But it was a righteous Act, and it became law in 1833; and in connexion with this noble effort to free our nation from the stain of a great sin we must ever remember the names of Granville Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce.

The passing of this Act in the month of May would alone have distinguished the year 1833; but it has another great event more directly affecting the Church, and that was the preaching in June of the assize sermon at Oxford on National Apostasy, by the author of the *Christian Year*.

It was now well known that the author of the *Christian Year* was John Keble, a name as beloved

in our own day by innumerable Church people as was that of Bishop Andrewes in the days of James I., in fact, there is a strong resemblance between the two men.

John Keble was the son of Thomas Keble, Rector of Fairford, in Gloucestershire—Fairford, the church of the beautiful windows. He and his father and intimate friends were devoted and consistent Churchmen of the school of Andrewes and Ken, and as such could not but lament the falling away of the Church in these latter days from her great inheritance of Catholic truth.

John Keble had gained a scholarship at Corpus when only fifteen, had taken a double first-class in classics and mathematics at eighteen, and before he was a year older had been elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. He was so humble, so bright, so true, he had naturally many friends, and being guided by the deepest religious motives, he became the centre of a marvellous religious influence. Under the sway of this influence and the guidance of his blameless and most earnest character there came Robert Wilberforce, son of the Abolitionist, Richard Hurrell Froude, Isaac Williams, and later, John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey. It was through the friendship of Froude that Newman and Pusey became such intimate friends with Keble.

In 1831 Keble was elected to the Professorship of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and by the time he preached his famous sermon in June 1833 on National Apostasy, the three friends, Keble, Newman, and Froude, were bound together in that bond which nothing can break—the bond of religious friendship,

united together in love to one Lord and Master and devoted to one noble cause. Afterwards Pusey joined them and strengthened the bond.

Apostasy means a falling away, and all thinking Churchmen in that day must have noticed the falling away of the English nation from the Church life which had been once its ruling power. In this sermon there was, on the surface, nothing so remarkably striking as one might have expected from its results. The preacher calmly, yet boldly, expressed his opinion of the dangers which beset the Church, and called upon Churchmen to declare themselves her faithful sons. The tone of the sermon was hopeful and sure of victory, and its effect was remarkable, for it roused Churchmen to inquire of themselves how far they were true to the Church.

Newman always said that this sermon was the beginning of the movement. Perhaps he did not realize how his University sermons had been preparing Oxford men for the great question now before them. Those sermons and Keble's *Christian Year* had been doing pioneer work, preparing the way for the great movement so soon to develop.

A Cambridge clergyman, Hugh James Rose, had preached stirring sermons at his own University seven years before. He was now Rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, and on St. James' Day, the 25th of July of this year, there was a meeting of four private clergymen at Hadleigh Rectory. They had come together to discuss the pressing affairs of the Church, and to devise some means for meeting the present difficulty. These friends were Mr. Rose, Hurrell

Froude, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Palmer. Keble and Newman, though in close sympathy and constant correspondence with the four friends, were not present at the interview. The result of the meeting was the formation of an Association of the Friends of the Church, and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Palmer drew up an address for the clergy to sign to present to the Archbishop. So much had the clergy been roused from their apathy that no less than 7000 signed the address, which was presented to Archbishop Howley at Lambeth in February 1834. The Primate very much encouraged the petitioners by giving them his cordial support.

But laymen were not behind. A lay declaration of attachment to the Church was drawn up by Mr. Joshua Watson (who had helped to found the National Society) and signed by upwards of 230,000 heads of families. We cannot do better than to quote the words of Sir W. Palmer himself:

“The Church of England at once rose from her deep depression, and found, to her astonishment, that the nation was unanimous to the old and established faith and worship.”

And again he writes :

“From every part of England and every town and city there arose a united, a strong, an emphatic declaration of warm and zealous and devoted loyalty to the Church of England. The national feeling, long pent up, depressed, despondent, had at length obtained freedom to pour forth, and the effect was amazing. The Church suddenly came to

life. The journals daily were filled with reports of meetings, in which sentiments long unknown to the columns of newspapers were expressed. . . .

"The Church, to its astonishment, found itself the object of warm, popular affection and universal devotion. Its enemies were silenced."

Before this, Newman had come on the field in defence of the Church, for in September 1833 he published the first of the *Tracts for the Times*, writings which did more than anything else to stir up the flagging life of the Church. These Tracts had for their object the revival of doctrines which had fallen into disuse with some of its members, although still held by the great divines.

The disuse of these doctrines had brought into the Church a coldness and indifference which had driven many away either into the Church of Rome or into dissent. And the writer of the preface to the Tracts justly says of any who had thus drifted :

"Had he been taught as a child, that Sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine Grace, that the Apostolical ministry had a virtue in it which went out over the whole Church, when sought by the prayer of faith; that fellowship with it was a gift and privilege, as well as a duty, we could not have had so many wanderers from our fold, nor so many cold hearts within it."

The Tracts came to an end with Tract No. 90, in 1841.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE RESULTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE effect of the Oxford Tracts on the minds of those who read them was simply marvellous. The writers were the most brilliant scholars of the day. Here was no shallow pretence of knowledge brought forward to verify their own views, but sound and deep learning. The whole history of the Church had been studied, the works of the Early Fathers thoroughly read and sifted; they were standing on hard rock, not on shifting sand.

But they caused a great outcry from those who considered the Church of England had no claims to antiquity beyond the sixteenth century, and who held sacramental teaching as something superstitious and out of date.

In 1834 Dr. Pusey, who was Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, threw himself actively into the movement. His position in the University and his great learning made him a most important acquisition. In 1836 the brilliant and enthusiastic Hurrell Froude died, and the publication of his *Remains* fanned the flame of opposition against the Tractarians, as the leaders of the movement and those who followed it were called.

Those who saw in all that was Catholic in the Church's doctrine and practice only what was essentially Roman, raised the cry of "No Popery," which was spoken of everywhere, written about in the papers, and scribbled in chalk in large letters on walls and palings.

The issue of a tract by Isaac Williams "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge" was spoken of as a wish to keep back from the people the truths of the Bible.

But Tract 90 by Newman roused the opponents still more, and Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, who had always been most kind and considerate in his dealings with the writers of the Tracts, told Newman he wished them to come to an end, and at once Newman obeyed.

It would be quite beyond the scope of this little book to enter into details of the controversy which raged at this time. Mr. Keble, in his quiet vicarage at Hursley, near Winchester, heard the sounds of battle from afar and cheered on the warriors. In 1843 Dr. Pusey was excluded from the University pulpit for two years because of his sermon on "The Holy Eucharist as a Comfort to the Penitent," and two years earlier, when John Keble retired from the Professorship of Poetry, his friend, Isaac Williams, one really fitted for the post, had been passed over for one of inferior gifts.

Isaac Williams was the author of "The Cathedral" and "The Baptistery," but he had also written Tract No. 80, on "Reserve," and this was enough to disqualify him in the eyes of those who could not understand.

Newman had been brought up with very strict Calvinists; he had been tossed about from one definition of doctrine to another, in a veritable sea of doubts. Finally, to the grief of all his friends, he joined the Roman Communion in 1845. This was a great blow, but Keble, Pusey, Isaac Williams, Mozley, and Church stood firm.

Controversy on disputed topics died away—real, practical work took its place. Laymen who did not go all lengths with the Tractarians, but saw the truth of their statements about the Anglican Church as Catholic Apostolic, and knew the teaching of the Prayer Book to be sound and true, determined to defend these principles whenever and wherever they could.

Other work besides controversy had been going on during the years since the publication of the *Christian Year* in 1827, which we must briefly consider.

You have probably heard of Lord Shaftesbury. He was a cousin of Dr. Pusey, and perhaps no one was more opposed to him in all matters of Church doctrine and discipline. But at heart they were both devoted servants of their Great Master, and Lord Shaftesbury did a noble work for the children by bringing forward two important Acts, one to do away with child chimney-sweeps, the other to lighten the labours and improve the condition of women and children in factories.

These great Acts removed two dreadful blots from the nation's story, and Lord Shaftesbury's name will, we hope, never be forgotten in connexion with the happier lives of the children of the poor.

It would be difficult to describe how surely, after the first storm had subsided, the Oxford Movement did its work.

The bishops woke up to realize the importance of more frequent confirmations, a greater reverence was shown in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, communicants increased in number with more frequent communions also. The sacrament of Holy Baptism was administered before a congregation, instead of only before the clerk and sponsors, in a musty, neglected church. Square pews were swept away and replaced by open seats, free to the poor as well as the rich. The organ took its proper place in the choir, and the choristers were robed in surplices.

A surpliced choir caused hot opposition among many, and there were riots in some places when a vicar had been courageous enough to introduce it. But he lived it down, and the work went on.

Not only the spiritual work in individual souls, but the corporate work of the Church, which is only the united work of each member of it. For we are all members of one Body, and if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; whereas, if one member rejoices, all the members rejoice together.

And now, while the work of cleansing the Church both inwardly and outwardly was going on, some good men were divided as to which had the greater need of spiritual help—English people at home, or those in the Colonies.

One great sign of life in a Church is its missionary zeal. We shall see how both needs were supplied.

Dr. Broughton was the first Bishop of Australia, and

Dr. Selwyn had lately set out to take charge of the new diocese of New Zealand. Both these earnest men were friends of Mr. Edward Coleridge, whose brother, Mr. Justice Coleridge, and Keble, were devoted friends. Edward Coleridge wished to found a Missionary Training College. He had helped forward missionary work in the Colonies, and his desire to have a college in England for the special training of missionaries induced him to ask the aid of the rich and benevolent Churchman, Mr. Beresford Hope. At the same time he enlisted the sympathy of Bishop Denison of Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Moberly, Dr. Tait, Dr. Pusey, Lord John Manners, and Mr. C. Marriott, all earnest men.

It is a long story and is well worth studying from the first idea till its realization. Mr. Beresford Hope gave nobly to the scheme; but it was difficult to decide upon a site. At last quite unforeseen light was thrown upon the subject.

Mr. Robert Brett, a medical man residing at Stoke Newington, who was known afterwards as first Provost of the Medical Guild of St. Luke, and together with his friend, Mr. Richard Foster, as a founder of several churches, was staying at Ramsgate, and when at Canterbury was so painfully struck with the shameful abuse of the ruins of St. Augustine's Abbey that he wrote a letter on the subject to the *English Churchman*. This caught the attention of Mr. Beresford Hope. He was on the eve of a visit to Canterbury, and when there he examined the ruins, found they were for sale, and eventually bought them and the site, and really founded the college, assisted by very many friends.

The once beautiful and extensive monastery of St. Augustine had been destroyed in 1538. Desecration upon desecration had followed, and when Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. Coleridge were looking for a site, they saw it here. It had been used as part of a brewery, and the cemetery had been turned into tea gardens, a bowling-green, and a place for the exhibition of fireworks.

Mr. Hope and Mr. Coleridge went heart and soul into the matter, and on St. Peter's Day, 1848, Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a large gathering of friends, opened the College and consecrated the chapel.

It was a splendid work, the fulfilment of a great idea, and it would be impossible to estimate the blessing which has rested upon it in the work done there and by the missionaries who have there received their training.

It is quite sad to have to curtail the accounts of the good men and good works of this period. But among those who longed for reform in the Church, and did their best to bring it about, though not on "Tractarian" lines, we must mention Dr. Arnold, the deeply religious, noble-minded, and famous Head Master of Rugby, who raised the tone of public schools, and besides being a scholar was a man of the highest integrity and worth. Nor can we omit Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, and his "beloved Master," Frederick Denison Maurice.

Charles Kingsley was a man of the most real and practical religion, and rightly believed that as God is the Creator of our bodies as well as our souls, it is our

duty to care for the former, especially as they are (as St. Paul teaches us) the Temples of the Holy Ghost.

In his day, if illness due to unhealthy conditions occurred in a village, people too readily said it was God's Will, and took no pains to prevent it. Kingsley argued rightly that it was not the Will of our Heavenly Father that they should live in close and dirty rooms, shutting out the delicious fresh air; and that if they would drink bad water and take no heed of dirt and dust they must expect to be ill.

He worked a great reform in these respects, and, above all, he dwelt upon the love of our Heavenly Father and His care for us, and how we should work with Him in trying to purify the world.

How much of this teaching he owed to Frederick Denison Maurice, whom he called his "beloved Master," it is not difficult to see. For Maurice, with his intense idea of the Fatherhood of God, and the Church as Christ's Body, had a wonderful influence over his disciples, of whom Kingsley was one of the most devoted. He says of Maurice that he was "the man who of all men whom I have seen approached nearest to my conception of St. John, the Apostle of Love."

But Churchwomen as well as men had their ideals; and these resulted in the foundation of Sisterhoods for the benefit of Christ's poor and for other good works. Clewer, whose first Superior was the devoted Harriet Monsell, Wantage, so lovingly cared for by William Butler, vicar of Wantage and afterwards Dean of Lincoln, East Grinstead, founded by Dr. J. M. Neale, and others are the outcome of that stirring of

life in the English Church, which we know as the Oxford Movement.

Its first leader, John Keble, was doing his quiet yet most influential work as parish priest at Hursley, while his friend and parishioner, Charlotte Mary Yonge, and Elizabeth Sewell, in her home in the Isle of Wight, were writing their books which were not only the delight, but, in a great measure, the spiritual training of two generations of readers.

While Church restoration was going on apace, while the naves of cathedrals were still unused for public worship, everything was tending to a fuller appreciation of the teaching of the Church and the longing to place it within the reach of the poorest and most neglected.

In 1850 and the following years six churches were built in what is now called North-East London, the founders of which were Robert Brett of Stoke Newington and Richard Foster of Chislehurst, with numerous friends. But it is only of one of these, St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, we can relate more than the fact of its existence; but it has certainly had a more world-wide influence than the others.

A hundred years ago Stoke Newington was not a part of London. It was a quiet country village, with grass land and cornfields between it and the village of Hackney.

Hackney Wick, where now is the Eton mission, was then a rural hamlet quite in the country.

Sixty years ago the face of the neighbourhood had somewhat altered, though there were still some open spaces between the Stoke Newington Road and



ST. MATTHIAS' CHURCH, STOKE NEWINGTON

Hackney on the east, and some desolate-looking land between it and Islington on the west.

Church Street, Stoke Newington, was prosperous enough, but there was a district at the back of it on the London side which was full of struggling poor, and just beyond it, in 1850, was a desolate piece of land, partly disused watercress beds, partly brickfields, with poor little badly built houses springing up forlornly amid the miserable surroundings. Farther on was Newington Green, where dwelt Mr. Robert Brett, the same who had written the letter to *The English Churchman* about St. Augustine's Abbey, which called Mr. Beresford Hope's attention to it.

He and his friend, Mr. Foster, with others, took up the cause of the poor and needy, and the result was the building of the church of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington. It was consecrated on the 13th of June 1853, and soon became a wonderful centre of spiritual life.

The first vicar was Mr. Pope; the next was Charles James Le Geyt, who had been one of Mr. Keble's curates at Hursley. He carried on with great earnestness the work begun under the first vicar, and it is satisfactory to know that the Church of St. Matthias is true to its traditions, and is still the centre of earnest Church life.

It is the work of Dr. Monk, the first organist of St. Matthias, that we must now briefly consider. The music at St. Matthias was always of a high order. Dr. Monk was a fine musician; he was organist and director of the choir at King's College, London, and so true a lover of music that he wished the hymns sung in church to be the very best possible, both in

words and music. He was not responsible for the words of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*, but he was the musical editor of the book, and worked with the compilers, giving them the benefit of his excellent taste and judgment in a way which must make Church people for ever indebted to him.

In its first days it was a smaller volume than now ; but we need only study its pages a little while to see from how many and varied sources the hymns and tunes are gathered.

It has done, and continues to do, excellent work, and so we link with St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, among other honoured names, that of Dr. Monk, the gifted editor of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. The book was first published in 1861.

CHAPTER XXXIII

A CHURCH PAGEANT

IN 1852 the Convocation of Carterbury met for the dispatch of business for the first time for one hundred and thirty-five years. That of York did not meet till 1860.

In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, London had been so full of visitors that, in order to provide for their religious needs, the naves of St. Paul's and of Westminster Abbey had been thrown open, and were quickly crowded. But when the Exhibition was closed the naves were closed too, till in 1858, Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, made great efforts which resulted in the nave of the Abbey, and afterwards the dome of St. Paul's, being thrown open for an evening service during part of the year. Finally, the permission was extended for the whole year. The provincial cathedrals followed the example set by London, and now in the naves of all the cathedrals services are held every Sunday and on festival occasions, so that our glorious Mother Churches are put to their proper use.

Various ritual prosecutions have disturbed the even tenour of the Church's way since Keble preached his Assize Sermon. It was impossible but that some

should be offended by the action of the clergy who tried to restore to the Church her primitive customs, and who were called Ritualists. The Erastian spirit in the Church had not died out, and the Privy Council decided difficult cases until the famous trial of the saintly Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1892, when the trial was properly conducted before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops. Since then no important case has been decided by the Privy Council.

The beloved author of *The Christian Year* died in 1866. He is commemorated at Oxford by Keble College opened in 1870, but not only at Oxford is he had in remembrance; innumerable lives have been taught and comforted and strengthened by his book, who have known nothing at all of the Assize Sermon and *Tracts for the Times*.

The growth and activity of the Church during the past sixty years has been very remarkable. Nothing like it had been seen before, but then it has never before experienced such an awakening as came with the Oxford Movement. It is true that the wonderful spiritual life of the Evangelicals kept the flame alive in individual souls during fifty years, and still animates much of the Church, but it did not affect the whole body. Latitudinarianism never was a power inside the Church, though it affected the surface of things; but now the Church had been stirred to its depths, and the result of so much life was seen in its marvellous activity in all directions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only nine bishops working in America. Now our colonial and missionary Episcopate numbers one hundred and eleven.

In England six new sees have been created, and in order to carry out fully the work of the Episcopate, thirty-eight suffragan and assistant bishops have been appointed ; and America has ninety-four bishops in her Protestant Episcopal Church besides eight missionary bishops.

Theological colleges have greatly increased in number ; societies have been formed, some of the most important being the Church of England Temperance Society, which does good work in a reasonable manner, the Church of England Men's Society, and the Girls' Friendly Society.

In 1853 the Crimean War drew the devoted Florence Nightingale with her band of workers out to the East to nurse and tend with gentleness and skill our brave soldiers lying sick and suffering in the hospital at Scutari. This was the beginning of a new era in the science of nursing, and now the Guild of St. Barnabas binds many nurses together in devotion to the Church. Most of the public schools have missions in various poverty-stricken parts of London, and Missions to Seamen have brought our toilers on the sea into touch with Church life.

In the missionary field we see great activity. The C.M.S., which has always been the most important missionary agency of the Church of England, has its stations all over the world ; while the S.P.G. carries on its earnest and steady work among our colonists and the heathen alike. But, though the harvest is plenteous, the labourers are still few in proportion. In the diocese of Brisbane in North Australia, a diocese nearly four times the size of England, the

Archbishop has seventy clergy besides catechists and readers; but how can seventy clergy cope with the needs of all the people? No wonder he says: "My trouble is not the magnitude of the work I have to do, but the magnitude of the work that is left undone. We have 100,000 white people scattered over an area as big as England, Wales, and Ireland all put together, and 10,000 square miles on the top of that."

Hear another cry, this time from one of the workers in the diocese of Labuan and Sarawak: "At present there are only two priests in charge of five enormous missionary districts, and of these two, one is home on furlough, earnestly seeking recruits."

But the greatest present need of all is in western Canada. So great is the rush for work in this prairie land, that settlers pour in at the rate of a thousand every day. To meet their spiritual needs very many more clergy are wanted. There are five prairie dioceses, and, even if hundreds more clergy could join them, they would still need more. In that vast country the mission stations are many miles apart—difficult for some of the settlers to reach; and as many of them are Church people they greatly miss their home privileges.

Two urgent appeals are being made: one through the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund; the other by the S.P.G. Western Canada Fund; while the prairie bishops are earnestly asking for help.

And it is sorely needed. One of the mission clergy in the diocese of Qu'Appelle writes: "I found the children very ignorant of the simplest rudiments of religious knowledge. On one occasion, on being

asked, not one child could tell me what happened on Christmas Day."

After this, we can but think with deep humility of our missionary efforts for our colonists.

Yet the missionary spirit grows; and the English Church in her missions to the heathen has numbered during the past forty years two devoted sons, who gladly laid down their lives for Christ, as did the early martyrs.

We think with reverence of our two martyr bishops, one a Devonshire man like St. Boniface of old, John Coleridge Pattison of the Melanesian Mission, murdered in 1871 by the natives he had come to save, and James Hannington of the Mission to Eastern Equatorial Africa, cruelly killed in 1885 by Africans of Uganda. But though they died, they died in faith, and their work survives.

The Universities Mission to Central Africa owes its origin to Dr. Livingstone, a Scotch Presbyterian.

This great traveller, struck with the condition of the natives of Central Africa, pleaded their cause so strongly in the Senate House at Cambridge on his return to England in 1859, and said so decidedly that a mission from the Churchmen of our Universities would do more to Christianize and civilize the natives than any other agency, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge took up the cause, and before long organized the Mission.

Charles Frederick Mackenzie was the first bishop, and he, with other devoted priests, attempted to form stations by the River Zambesi. But the climate proved disastrous, and the bishop died. The few

of the Mission who survived him saw the dangers of the unhealthy country, and his successor, Bishop Tozer, moved the head-quarters from the Zambesi to Zanzibar, which was the centre of the slave trade on the eastern coast. This was an important move, but the bishop's health gave way and he was succeeded by his friend and companion, Dr. Steere.

The way had been prepared, and this energetic bishop worked so hard that he never rested till the slave trade was abolished and the Cathedral at Zanzibar rose over the old slave market, while where once had been the whipping-post was placed the altar, raised in His honour Who came to "set at liberty them that are bruised."

His labours were many and various. He set up a printing-press and translated the Psalms into Swahili, the language of the coast, which is as useful there among different tribes as French is to travellers in Europe. But he wanted a translation of the whole Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society undertook to produce it. This was a great work, and it rejoiced the bishop's heart.

The Mission grows and prospers. It has medical missionaries, nurses, schools, and, above all, a strong staff of clergy and lay workers, all most earnest and devoted; and the stations are numerous, extending from Zanzibar to Lake Nyassa, and work is done among the Mohammedans as well as with the heathen tribes.

We are too near the wonderful reign of Queen Victoria, with all its inventions and discoveries and eager rush of life, to say much of the great and able

Churchmen who lived in it, or to record as history some events which we can scarcely yet see in their due proportion. There is very much still to be done before the Church fulfils her high vocation both at home and abroad.

But we have reason to hope that she who withstood the earthquake shock of the Reformation, and the persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who was not quite frozen by the chill of the eighteenth, and warmed into renewed life during the nineteenth century, will still lift up her head because of the Spirit which is in her. But we must always remember that it is the units which make up the whole; it is the work of each individual member to strengthen the whole body, by living as becomes "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

And we can look out for all points of union, instead of those of difference, and remember that we are so made that we cannot all think alike, and if inclined to judge those who differ from us, we can call to mind the words of St. Paul, "To his own Master he standeth or falleth," and be content.

But we are drawing very near our own day. In 1908 the Pan-Anglican Congress met in London and engaged the thoughts of Churchmen all over the world. For the bishops or their delegates came in numbers from Canada and the United States, from Australia and New Zealand, from Africa, South, East and West, from China and Japan, from Ceylon and from the far-off isles of the Southern seas. It was a marvellous, a soul-inspiring gathering, which kindled

fresh life in many hearts, and strengthened the bonds of fellowship in a manner more to be felt than described.

It was followed the next year by the Church pageant at Fulham, which did its own work in recalling to the minds of those who looked on, stirring scenes in the History of the English Church from its earliest days. Then in 1910 was celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the English Church in Canada, when the Bishop of London took out King George V.'s present of a most beautiful Prayer Book for use in the little church of St. Luke, a successor of the earliest English Church at Annapolis in Nova Scotia—where the words have come to pass through many troubles and adversities, “A little one shall become a thousand,” and “They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.”

A beautiful cross was at that time erected to the memory of the Rev. Thomas Wood, the devoted S.P.G. missionary who was the pioneer of Church work in Canada.

And now, dear children, we must part.

We have travelled far since in the grey dawn faintly lighting up moor, and wood, and fell of Old Britain we saw the three bishops, Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelphius, take their weary way to Arles and followed those others to Sardica and Ariminum and read of those who assented to the decisions made at the Great Council of Nicæa.

We have travelled through seventeen centuries, and some of you are children no longer. Yet in a sense we are always children—children gathering

shells and pebbles on the shore of the vast and deep and wonderful Ocean of the Love of God and of His dealings with men. And if I have helped you a little in this gathering of treasures, and have been allowed to show you how the pebbles have been rounded by friction, and the shells have acquired their delicate tints, I can but hope that you will launch out into the deep for yourselves, and explore and gather knowledge on other shores and with a wider outlook.

Shall we finally call up pageant-wise from the past a few scenes in the History of our beloved Church?

And, looking far back before our land was English, we see St. Alban, our protomartyr, slain by the sword, St. Patrick teaching his enemies, and St. Columba of the fiery heart setting forth to found a mission in the little Island of Iona. Later on we call up the picture of St. Augustine and his followers holding converse with King Ethelbert under the oak tree on the Isle of Thanet. Gazing still into the twilight, we see St. Paulinus baptizing Eanfled, the first-fruits of the Northumbrian Church—and yet again the saint's tall, dark form comes before us as he stands not far from the old Roman gate at Lincoln, even then six centuries old, baptizing Blecca, the chief man in that old city of Lincoln, the Lindum Colonia of the Romans.

Later we see the sacred Isle of Lindisfarne and St. Cuthbert, St. Aidan, and St. Chad. Then comes before us the lofty hill of Whitby, and the Council with its famous members, among them the patient James, the deacon, St. Hilda, and Wilfrid, the enthusi-

astic monk of Ripon. Later we see St. Wilfrid ministering to the Sussex folk—first to their bodies, then to their souls.

He passes on, and time also passes, for next we see St. Guthlac in his cell at reedy Crowland, and then the solemn picture of our historian, Bede the Venerable, dictating with his last breath to his disciple the closing words of the Gospel of St. John. Now comes in view Edmund, the East Anglian king, winning his martyr's crown as the arrows of the Danes pierce his steadfast heart. St. Dunstan raises his noble head, full of high hopes and dreams, sure to be misunderstood by souls of meaner mould. The rule of the Saxons yields to William at Senlac, and before long we see the face of Anselm as the Red King insists on his becoming Archbishop of Canterbury. More years go by and we see Thomas Becket earning his claim to sainthood, as he sinks, murdered, to the pavement, crying with his last breath, "For God and His Church." A calmer scene now. Hugh of Avalon, the saintly Bishop of Lincoln, followed by his swan, and at his feet the Swineherd of Stow, pouring out from his horn his silver pennies to help to build the Minster on her "sovereign hill"; Grossetête, ruler over the same vast diocese, his strong heart broken by the faithlessness of the Pope; St. Edmund of Canterbury, William of Wykeham, John Wyclif, and William of Waynflete.

And now the venerable figure of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the learned and witty Sir Thomas More—both martyrs for conscience' sake. Cranmer and others who suffered at the stake; Andrewes,

Bishop of Ely in the days of the first Stuart king; Laud, archbishop and martyr, and Charles I., martyr and king; and now the noble seven who boldly stood true to their convictions, fearing neither prison nor death. A country rectory at midnight, flames lighting up a terrified group on the lawn, and a little boy (John Wesley) looking out from the window in peril of death, but saved to rouse thousands to newness of life. Wilberforce pleading the cause of the slave; John Keble at Hursley teaching his rustic people—he who had swayed a million hearts. Where shall we stop?

The pageant has passed; but as we call to mind our glorious inheritance, surely we feel inspired to live in our little day as these Churchmen lived in theirs. The Creed which resulted from that Great Council of Nicæa is ours to-day. It has always been ours. For though our Church is sometimes styled Protestant because it is anti-Papist and will not bow to a foreign power, it is, and always has been, Catholic—one with the saints who have gone before, one in humble expectation of better things to come.

“Yet she on earth hath union
With God the Three in One,
And mystic, sweet communion
With those whose rest is won;
The happy ones and holy,
Lord, give us grace that we,
Like them the pure and lowly
On high may dwell with Thee.”

APPENDIX

TABLE SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH EPISCOPATE SINCE THE REFORMATION

AT the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., 1509, England had twenty-three dioceses, Wales four.

He founded six more out of dissolved monasteries, but only five survived. That of Westminster ended in 1550.

The Colonies remained without any Episcopate until, through the action of the S.P.G., and in answer to local wishes, seven sees, two in Canada—Nova Scotia in 1787, Quebec in 1793—and five in the United States were founded. The first Bishop of the American Church was Samuel Seabury, consecrated Bishop of Connecticut in 1784.

With regard to Asia, the diocese of Calcutta was founded in 1814.

For the greater part of the eighteenth century the S.P.G. was endeavouring to plant the Church in the American Colonies, and they also had missions among the Red Indians and the negroes.

In 1911 the English Episcopate stands as follows:—

	Sees
England	33
Wales	4
The Church of Ireland	13
The Episcopal Church in Scotland	7
Europe	2
Asia	28
Africa	20
British North America	24
West Indies and South America	9
Australia	20
New Zealand	8
Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America	94
Their foreign bishops	8

The American Church, though not under the jurisdiction of Canterbury, is in the closest communion with the English Church, and its bishops attend the Lambeth Conference.

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